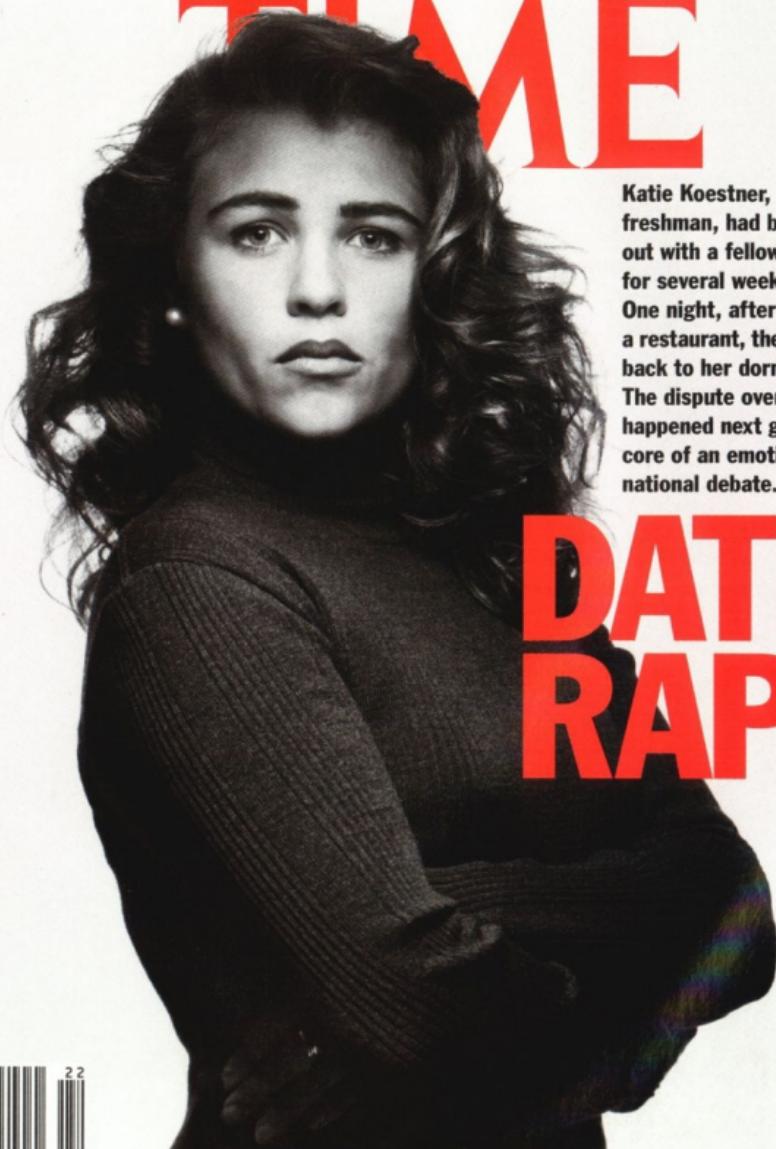


• **GANDHI: India in Shock**

TIME



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DATE RAPE



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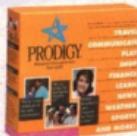
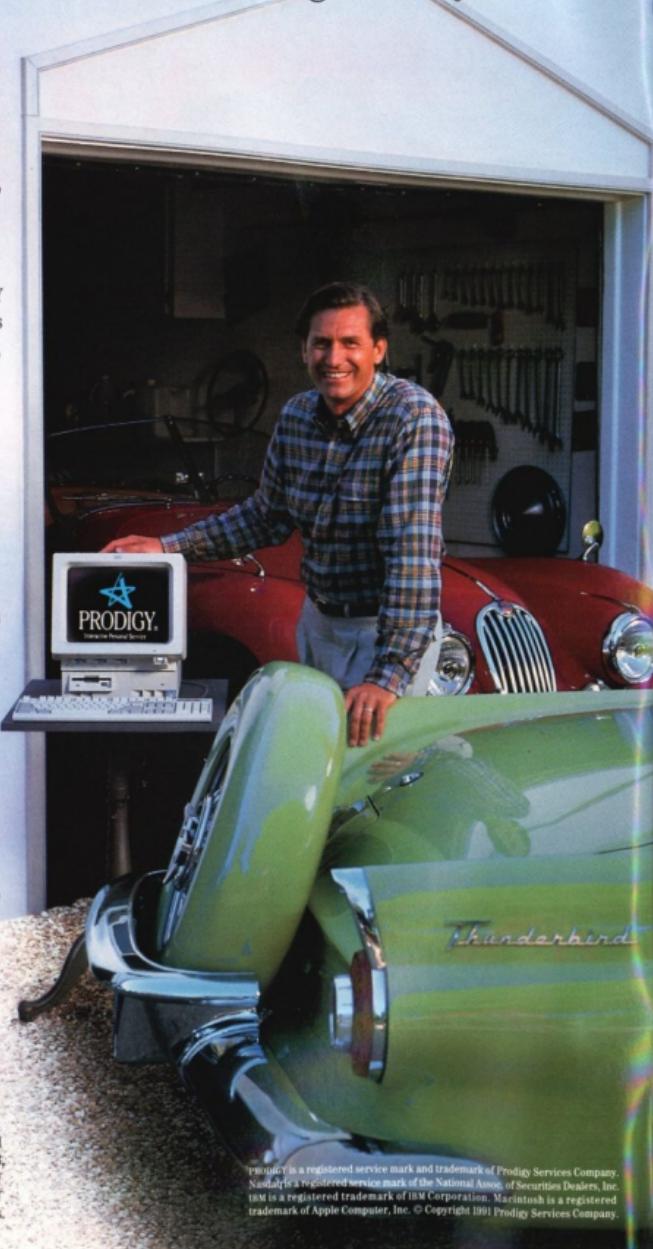
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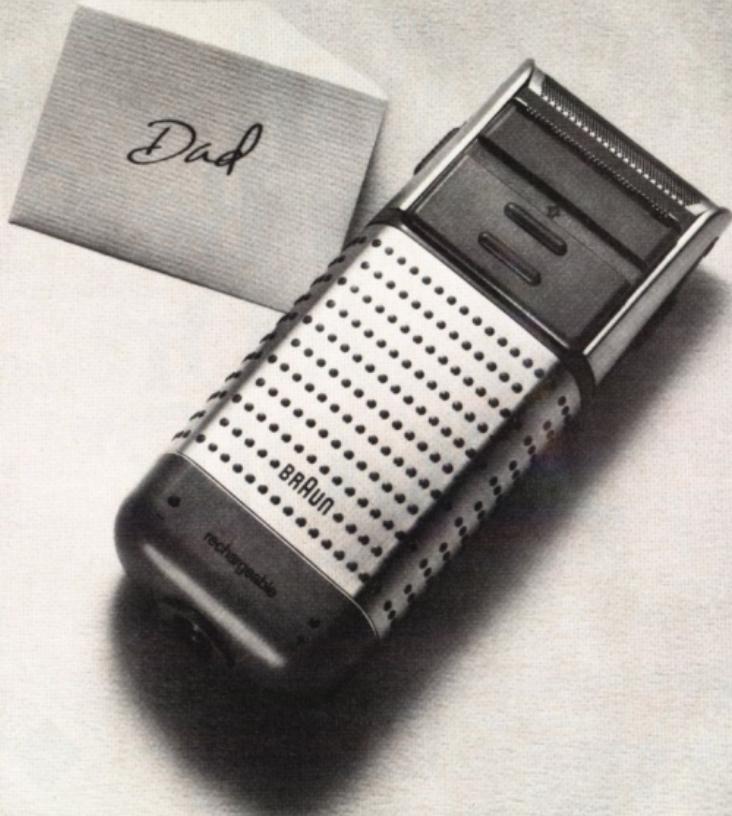
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TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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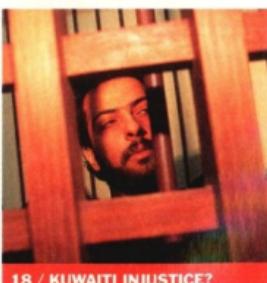
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Will yours be there when you're ready to retire?



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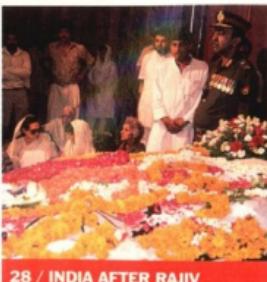


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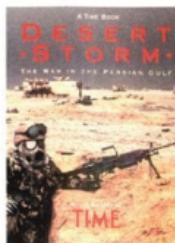
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FROM THE PUBLISHER

It is said that journalism is a first rough draft of history. If so, then some news events are of such lasting significance that they deserve a second draft. Last January, as allied bombers launched a massive airborne offensive against Iraq, it became clear to Joanne Pello, a vice president of the Time Inc. Book Co., that the streams of words and images appearing in TIME's pages were the grist of a good book. Pello discussed the possibility with her colleagues and then approached us. "We realized that this was a subject in which TIME had particular photographic and editorial expertise," she recalls.

In the past we've published books on photojournalism, the presidential campaign of 1988, the rise of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, and the 1989 Chinese army attack in Tiananmen Square. This idea clearly belonged to that tradition. Senior writer Otto Friedrich was quickly named editor and charged with selecting a staff of writers and correspondents to contribute to the book, in addition to their magazine duties. As a team of production typesetters rushed to work out the technical details, graphics director Nigel Holmes began to plan the book's maps and charts.

Fortunately—and this is a real luxury for magazine journalists—we could wait until the war was over, and events began to move into historical perspective, before we sent the chapters off to press. The result of these efforts is *Desert Storm: The War in the Persian Gulf*, a 240-page hardback volume that began appearing in bookstores last week. The book, which is being published by the Time Inc. Book Co. and distributed by Little, Brown and Co., contains 129 color and black-and-white illustrations, many of which have never been published in the U.S.



Otto Friedrich, right, and the final draft



"We realized that this was a subject in which TIME had particular photographic and editorial expertise."

Friedrich, whose 12th book, a portrait of Paris in the time of the artist Edouard Manet, will be published next spring, found that TIME's traditional blend of detail and analysis served him well on *Desert Storm*. "I edited the book much the same way I have edited at TIME," he says. "There's a different time frame, and the chapters are longer than a TIME article, but the essential spirit of the thing is the same: the attitude of reasonably objective observers describing what we have seen or learned." And, we might add, enjoying the luxury of sufficient time to write a second draft.

Robert L. Miller



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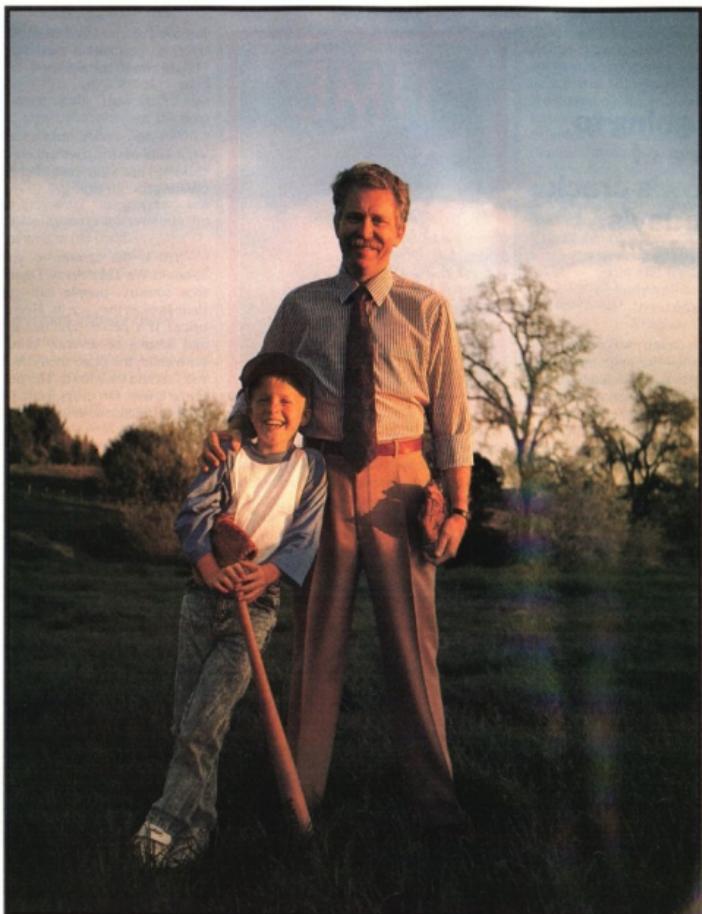
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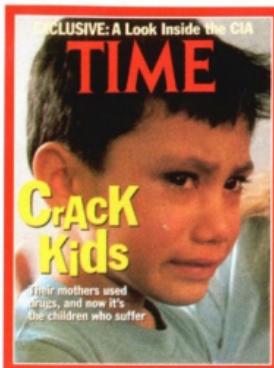
Source: NIELS © 1991 Haggard Apparel Company

LETTERS**CRACK KIDS****"Who's going to take care of tomorrow's crack kids? Today's crack kids?"**

Cherie J. Cobb
Oklahoma City

When will this country wake up to what promises to ruin it—the huge number of babies being born to drug-addicted parents [HEALTH, May 13]? Our school and welfare systems are unable to keep up with demands. I know about civil rights, but how about the rights of those of us who will ultimately pay for the care of these children? It is time to think about sterilization or, at the least, mandatory contraception for anyone who has given birth to a drug-addicted baby. The cycle has to be stopped, and these times call for drastic measures.

Joann Geist
Colfax, Calif.



As an assistant district attorney representing Dallas County child-protective services, I have observed an alarming increase in the number of newborns suffering from in-utero cocaine exposure. The time has come to change our focus. We should not allow the victimized child to languish in foster care while waiting for a mother to decide whether she will choose her child over cocaine. Instead, we should swiftly

remove the child and meet its special needs in permanent care and punish the perpetrator of the abuse.

David C.
Dale

Not only do we have to ask ourselves what kind of world we are creating for children, but what kind of children we are creating for our world.

John C. Cro
Malibu, Ca

Yes is the answer to your quest "Should We Take Away Their Kids?" In free country, people can generally live their lives as they see fit. However, at what price? If a person chooses to take drugs and destroy or severely handicap a born child, the price should be severe. The risks should be known. The penalty should fit the crime: Do drugs, go to jail, lose your right to create another human being.

Jonathan A.
Santa Clarita, Ca

I am a recovering crack addict who gave birth to twins two years ago, less than 24 hours after the last time I used crack. I had just finished serving a 30-day sentence for being under the influence. I was homeless and still undernourished and, except for the time I was in jail, had seen a doctor

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print quality. It enhances your ideas with graphics and multiple fonts. Fonts that are scalable to 127 points through Windows 3.0 software. But HP doesn't stop there. The DeskJet 500 is backed by a three-year limited warranty. An



LETTERS

only once during my pregnancy. The twins were eight weeks premature and spent five weeks in the hospital. From there they went to a wonderful, loving foster home. I went to a drug program. Their father also got help. We regained custody of the boys just after their first birthday. The children are in special education. Their father and I continue our counseling programs, and the boys are in pretty good condition considering the way they were brought into this world. I believe in early intervention for the mother as well as the child.

*Name withheld on request
Santa Barbara, Calif.*

Advice for Norman Schwarzkopf

Please, General Schwarzkopf, don't allow yourself to be bullied by the cesspool of American politics [NATION, May 6]. It won't matter which party you embrace; the very act of running for office (and probably winning) would destroy once and for all the shining-hero image you have brought home. Write a book? Great! We'll all read it. Make speeches? Wonderful! We'll listen intently. But politics? No, no, a thousand times no! We desperately need you as a role model. Stay away from that last resort, that bastion of ill repute.

*David C. Andrews
New Bern, N.C.*

Schwarzkopf should think on this: no one's character, marriage or family life is ever improved by getting into politics.

*Norman Sayles
St. Joseph, Mo.*

Why all this praise for the general of Desert Storm? Is there a general in the world who could not have won that war?

*L. Ernest Acosta
Porter, Texas*

We have practically deified General Schwarzkopf. Although he has called war a profane thing, he selected a career dedicated to war. I have no personal issue with Schwarzkopf. I believe him to be a man of integrity and courage. I am simply disturbed by the message we are teaching our children about heroes. I would prefer my sons to be inundated with photos of exemplary physicians, educators and Peace Corps volunteers—people who serve life rather than death.

*Janie H. Starr
Tacoma*

The Scientology Empire

TIME's story on the Scientology religion [SPECIAL REPORT, May 6] was an unprecedented insult to millions of Scientologists the world over, to the hundreds of

thousands of non-Scientologists the church has helped through its social-betterment programs, and to all who believe in free but honest journalism. It is truly astounding that you could not find space for even one description of the good that Scientology has done for people and communities around the world. Millions have become more able, ethical and prosperous by applying Scientology to their lives. TIME's readership will someday learn what Scientology is all about. As our founder L. Ron Hubbard stated, "The old must give way to the new, falsehood must become exposed by truth, and truth, though fought, always in the end prevails."

*David Miscavige, Chairman
Religious Technology Center
Los Angeles*

Miscavige is the current leader of the Church of Scientology.

We are two people who almost got caught up in this empire. We spoke with one of its representatives who made us feel very comfortable about our personal profile—and then it began. He talked about how he could help us and about the price, which at the outset is reasonable. As your article shows, such costs can spiral into the thousands.

*Tom and Denise Sparley
Fairbanks*

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LETTERS

In my view of religion, its function is to provide its members with an understanding of the ultimate meaning of life, and I found Scientology to be doing that for the people I interviewed for a research project. No religion works for everyone, but the purpose of freedom of religion is to ensure there is a wide variety of ultimate meanings, so that everyone can find the kind that is suitable. Scientology is doing that for some people, which is why it is entitled to be characterized as a religion.

Dean M. Kelley
New York City

As an ex-member who spent five years and more money in this cult than I care to admit, I can verify that your article paints a quite accurate picture. The church consistently tries to label its critics a noisy, tiny minority. This is hardly so. Victims of scams are never eager to speak up.

Alan F. Irwin
Salinas, Calif.

There is a method to Scientology's madness of having people spend huge amounts of money on its programs. Jesus said it well in *Luke 12: 34*: "Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also." One is not so likely to admit something is a lemon if he's lost a lot of money on it.

Ron Pappenhagen
Duncanville, Texas

Quote-Based Journalism

After reading Michael Kinsley's "Please Don't Quote Me" [ESSAY, May 13], on the controversy over the use of quotes by the press, I recalled that as a journalism student in charge of the university's elections, I was followed for a solid day by a fellow student who asked me to utter a prewritten statement about the status of a particular candidate. As a first-year student, she had been taught not to make up quotes, yet she was quite happy to provide me with a script. This incident was one of many that turned me into an office-worker and part-time poet rather than the journalist I was trained to be. The thought that a journalist could be so lacking in ethics, even as a student, was simply too frightening.

Maureen Smithers
Toronto

It is Kinsley's outdated world view that needs rethinking, not quote-based journalism. We live in an age of excess information. Effective communication means readers must immediately know what they are reading and why they should care. Placing a paraphrase between quote marks is a small price to pay if it helps persuade a reader to move along to the next sentence. Remaining faithful to absolute technical accuracy and grammar while boring the reader is no way to get the message across.

You should know better. Newsmagazines like TIME exist because people need ways to absorb important information quickly—otherwise nobody would be able to get anything done.

Henry Ruddle
Milpitas, Calif.

*Some for renown, on scraps of learning date,
And think they grow immortal as they quote.*

—Edward Young (1683-1765), *Love of Fame*
Arnold van Heusden
Driebergen, the Netherlands

Higher Moral Purpose

It is former Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, not Mikhail Gorbachev, who truly deserves a Nobel Peace Prize [WORLD, May 13]. Gorbachev, who attained power and used it, to be sure, more or less wisely but relishes it nevertheless, may be a man of the moment. Shevardnadze, who voluntarily relinquished power for a higher moral purpose, is the one who should be considered a man of the century for his courage.

Ron Brady
New York City

If Shevardnadze feared that dictatorship was coming, his duty was to stand steadfast with Gorbachev and fight the trend. Instead, he abruptly resigned, ran away like a coward and gave lectures in the U.S. He stabbed Gorbachev in the back and is now screaming fire.

Kandadai Seshadri
Hyderabad, India

Your interview with Shevardnadze makes me think he is exactly the right person to become the next Secretary-General of the United Nations. He is a man who stands up for his convictions, but at the same time he possesses the humanity necessary for a person in high office.

Eva Rothenborg
Kongens Lyngby, Denmark

Turkey's Critics

Turkish President Turgut Ozal's public relations campaign cannot hide his nation's atrocious human-rights record. In his talk with TIME [INTERVIEW, May 13], he claims that Turkey has "democracy, human rights and a free market." However, Amnesty International reported in 1990 that thousands of people in Turkey were imprisoned for political reasons without trial or after trials that failed to meet international standards of fairness, and that torture continued to be commonplace.

Kathleen Brown and
Octavio Suarez
Los Angeles

Thank you for your article about Turkey. Since thousands of Kurdish refugees began flooding into Turkey, the Western media have declared war against it. Despite their limited resources, Turks have been trying hard to help the refugees but have been unjustly criticized for not letting them into Turkey and accused of treating them harshly. When President Ozal proposed that Turkey accept half the refugees on the condition that the other half be accepted by other Western countries, those nations were reluctant to agree.

Yilmaz Yildiz
Heidelberg, Germany

So Where's the Punch Line?

Readers of our May 20 Critics' Voices page were surprised to see that three reviews ended in mid-sentence and a fourth praised a jazz album whose artist and title went nameless. Was it a trick to get your attention? Did our critics fall asleep at their computer terminals? Did our printers run out of ink? None of the above. Because of a computer-disk overload, four lines were summarily dropped off the bottom of the page while it was being transmitted to our printing plants. (Remember the rogue computer in 2001?) For those of you who took it all as some clever fill-in-the-blanks test, here are the correct answers: 1) The new 30-DISC GLENN GOULD series will include such performances as Chopin's *Sonata in B Minor* and Beethoven's *Hammerklavier*; 2) MICHAEL BOLTON was said to pack "more soul into a love song than anyone else in the business"; 3) the mystery jazz album is ROY HARGROVE'S *PUBLIC EYE* on the Novus label; 4) the location of the JELLY ROLL MORTON show is Michael's Pub in New York City, where Terry Waldo's sprightly 1920s-style orchestra holds forth through June 1. Anyone who got all the answers right should apply for a critic's job.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR should be addressed to:

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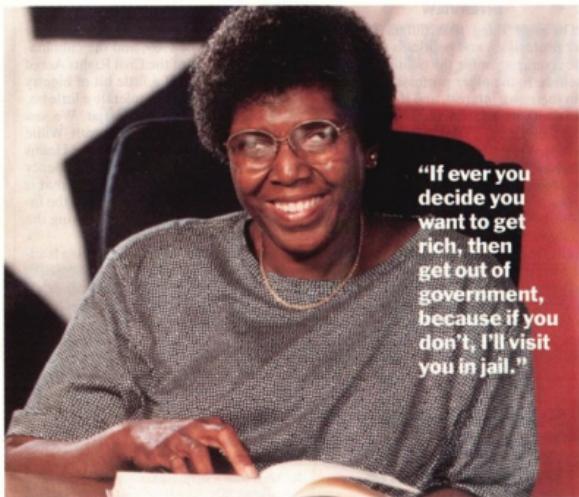
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INTERVIEW

An Ethical Guru Monitors Morality

A lobbyist once handed out \$10,000 checks on the floor of the state senate. Now former Congresswoman BARBARA JORDAN is trying to clean up Texas government.

By BONNIE ANGELO

Q. Your new post as Governor Ann Richards' special counsel on ethics is unique in this country, probably the world. What's the purpose of the job?

A. I am the ethics guru. I question the Governor's proposed appointees about matters that are ethically sensitive, help raise their sensitivity quotient. It's the things that are not blatant that get you into trouble. This is not just an initial push and then you forget about it, but a constant companion for the duration.

Q. Have you done any good yet?

A. In screening appointments, I counseled against the appointment of one individual, who did not get it. I've spoken at training sessions for appointees. I presented a hypothetical case and asked the audience how they would respond. I presented the case of an appointee who needs to attend a meeting and is offered the use of a corporate aircraft by a person interested in a contract with his agency. Do you compromise yourself and accept this apparently

innocent invitation? Do you issue a disclaimer that it will not affect any future contracts? My advice: Buy your own ticket.

Q. Sounds as if John Sununu and others could use some of your advice in Washington.

A. There are any number of people in Washington who strain credulity to state the rationale to justify their actions. But Sununu was too greedy; he should not have become the frequent flyer he did. If you are going to be ethically insensitive, at least be insensitive in moderation.

Q. What about the Congressmen and their wives flying on a military plane to Paris for the air show—all their expenses taxpayer-paid?

A. It is not right; it is not correct; it should not occur. These things may not be illegal, but it is so important for a public servant to sort out what is legal from what is ethical. I tell appointees, "You must not engage in any fine-line drawing." Ed Meese as Attorney General did that many times. It is not enough for the Attorney General to say, "I have not violated the law."

Q. How did your job come into being?

A. Governor Richards made ethics a primary focus of her campaign, because there have been so many allegations of lobbyists' influence peddling, vote buying, bribery, that sort of thing. In 1989 we were treated to the spectacle of a lobbying going onto the floor of the Texas Senate and handing out \$10,000 checks. There was some legislation in which he was interested, so he just said, "We have a gift for you." It was that blatant.

Q. But don't most people think, cynically, that politics is a crooked business?

A. I am very disheartened by the public perception of politicians not having the public welfare at heart because I absolutely believe politics is an honorable profession. I wish more people would see politicians as public servants, because that's what they are.

Q. Yet in almost every session of Congress some ethical scandal arises. How do you explain that?

A. When ethical problems arise, the base is usually some act of greed or self-interest or money. I believe only a very small percentage of people who are in public office are guilty of wrongdoing, of abusing their public trust. But then I look at those people in public office who run against government—and that, I think, is one reason why the role of the politician is so diminished in the eyes of the public.

I really was incensed when the President, just before last November's elections, started running against Washington, against Congress, against the very policies he had been so integral in developing. Then what can you expect in terms of public perception?

Q. Would the proposed term limitation for Congress raise political standards?

A. This whole business of term limitations is a wrongheaded move. That's not the way you correct wrongdoing. What you're doing is muting the people's voice for some short-term political benefit.

Q. What would be your first change?

A. The greatest change, the No. 1 change, has to be in the way we fund political campaigns. It is the money that has become an obscenity, has been so corrupting. I would like to see some limitation on how much money you can pour into a political contest. But there will not be a change until there is enough of a public outcry demanding it.

Q. It is argued that the Keating Five were only doing what any Senator does on behalf of large contributors. Would you agree?

A. Until we get genuine campaign finance reform we will have public officials like the Keating Five doing constituency service for wealthy constituents. But as long as there is the appearance that you are selling your office, the public is going to have a negative reaction.

INTERVIEW

I do not think these Senators sold their office or their soul, but what they did was to get on the most-favored congressional list of this Charles Keating, a man who had a lot of money. In order to curry favor with this wealthy constituent, you do things that will be helpful to him in his business. So unless we change the system of campaign finance, we're going to have incidents like the Keating Five occur time and time again.

Q. But campaigning by television requires huge amounts of money. Can any politician escape the money trap now?

A. I doubt it. I would like for one to try, however. I'd like for somebody to get out there and see if they could do it. People want politicians who are honest and credible, and if they could just know that you're going to do a bang-up job for them, they'll help you, they'll vote for you.

But we've got so far away from the politicians' selling themselves personally. We just let money and sound bites and 30-second spots do it—and that's not the way the republic is supposed to be run.

Q. Are we scrutinizing politicians so harshly, demanding that they give up so much for public office, that we're keeping many good men and women out of politics?

A. We're keeping some out, but when you get into the arena, you know what the arena requires. You know it's going to be tough, you're going to be asked some very hard questions, your privacy is going to be stripped away. But when you offer yourself for office, you have to expect that. You must, or not seek office.

My strong feeling is that the best people, those who really have what it takes to be good in the office, can be talked into making the effort, because the primary pull on those people must be that they can serve the public in a good way.

Q. Could it be that our ethical standards are more stringent now than in the past?

A. No, I think there are certain enduring ethical standards, enduring values that don't change with the times. My definition of the ethical public servant is one who acts in the public interest, who is truthful, credible, honest, and who is able to turn from greed and selfhood to think in terms of others.

Q. What about ethics in other callings, the sorry mess in the savings and loan associations, the scandals on Wall Street and among TV evangelists?

A. I believe those who hold public office are held to a higher ethical standard than those in other professions. That is as it should be. However, other professions do have codes of ethics. There is almost unanimity on certain basic values, which are enduring, whether you are a journalist or in the business world.

The only thing that differs between other professions and politics is that there is the requirement for the politician not to be selfish. In the other professions, people act in their own interest, and if they go too far in their own interest, they will run afoul of the law.

Q. But neither a code of ethics nor the law kept those savings and loan institutions honest.

A. The 1980s are characterized as the decade of greed, Greed with a capital G. Many of the savings and loans' problems were the outgrowth of extraordinary greed and chicanery by persons in the S&L industry. I call the S&L debacle a policy wreck. The people involved in it were motivated by greed and ambition, and we also had public officials, regulators, who were inattentive to their public

racism. We saw more in the Supreme Court decisions of 1989, and the culmination was that veto of the Civil Rights Act of 1990. It seemed as if a little bit of bigotry was O.K. But if ever you tolerate a little bit, you have let the door come ajar. We saw that in the campaign of '88, with Willie Horton as an issue, and in the Jesse Helms race last fall. The civil rights constituency seems to have been weakened, and that is very, very troubling. I attribute it to the inattention the question received during the Reagan years.

What is needed in this country is a leader—a President of the U.S.—who speaks of *all* citizens without equivocation. It doesn't cost a dime; you've got the pulpit—just get out there and use it!

Q. You won a national reputation for rectitude as a member of the Nixon impeachment panel in your first term in Congress. Yet scarcely 10 years after that national crisis, another group in the White House was secretly subverting the law in the Iran-contra affair.

A. That was a surprise to me. I thought the lessons of Watergate were lasting lessons and we wouldn't see that again. But an atmosphere was generated around Ronald Reagan and his presidency. Here was a President who was fairly disengaged. And when you have that at the top, that means that those who are underneath feel free to do whatever they want to do in developing their own agendas and acting them out. I think we saw that in Poindexter and North.

The bottom line is, yes, we learned the lesson of Watergate. It stuck for about 10 years, but then you have to relearn it. We ought to have a continuing sort of seminar for people who are in charge of government, because the lessons get old and need to be revived.

Q. You have called loyalty an attribute of morality. In both Watergate and the Iran-contra affair, loyalty to the President was at the heart of the wrongdoing.

A. Loyalty is a very important trait, one of those principles that should adhere to your core. But how far does loyalty go? Are you loyal to the point of supporting your superior in an illegality?

In my opinion, that becomes misplaced loyalty, and you ought to do something about it. If you see wrongdoing, loyalty requires that you go to your superior, notwithstanding that it may not be beneficial, and say that what you see being done is wrong and should be stopped. You should try to correct it in-house. But if you can't change it from inside, then you get out and try to change it from outside.

Q. In the context of ethical leadership, whom, past or present, do you admire?

A. Bill Moyers is my hero. I'd like to see him as President.

Sununu was too greedy . . . If you are going to be ethically insensitive, at least be insensitive in moderation.

post. Because of that inattention, we the taxpayers are going to have to pay that extraordinary amount.

Q. At the University of Texas you teach a course called "Political Values and Ethics" at the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs. How do you instill a strong sense of ethics in young people interested in public service?

A. It is not easy. You don't teach people ethics. I try to sensitize my students to be able to identify an ethical morass they are about to step into before they step into it. I tell them, don't expect to get rich—the public does not pay its servants a great deal of money. Go do this job because you want the government to run well and you think you can help it run well. And I say, if ever you decide you want to get rich, then get out of government, because if you don't, I'll visit you in jail. That gets their attention!

Q. How broad is your definition of ethics?

A. We can't talk about ethics without talking about openness and inclusiveness. We, as the people of the United States of America, with all our rhetoric and promises, still have the problem of color.

With the Civil Rights Act of 1964 we really thought we were moving to finally get this issue of race behind us. Then we saw during the late '80s a resurfacing of

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*Definition of "risk of drowsiness" is incidence greater than placebo (a sugar pill).

†The reported incidence of drowsiness with Seldane (5.8%) in clinical studies involving more than 11,000 patients did not differ significantly from that reported in patients receiving placebo (6.9%).

‡Based upon worldwide prescription and distribution information (1986-1990)—data on file, Marion Merrell Dow Inc.

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GRAPEVINE

By DAVID ELLIS/Reported by Sidney Urquhart



The Golden State's Bid For Electoral Primacy

California politicians are planning to move up their state's primary date from June to March in an attempt to muscle in on the kingmaking power Iowa and New Hampshire enjoy.

Commencement Contretemps

At graduation ceremonies this year, all is not pomp and circumstance. When George Bush spoke in mid-May at Hampton University, students angered by his civil rights policies displayed the clenched-fist sign. Among others getting a chilly reception:

BILLY JOEL

Fairfield University A philosophy professor at the Catholic college questioned the presentation of an honorary doctorate to the writer of *Only the Good Die Young* ("Come out Virginia/ Don't let me wait/ You Catholic girls start much too late").

DICK CHENEY

Colorado College About 50 students wearing white armbands and paper peace doves turned their backs on the Secretary of Defense as he addressed his daughter Mary Claire's graduating class.

DOUGLAS WILDE

University of Bridgeport Virginia's Governor—and potential presidential candidate—canceled his commencement speech on 24 hours' notice: he refused to cross the picket lines of striking faculty members.

JAMES BAKER

Princeton University So far, more than 600 students and faculty members have signed a petition condemning as an "inappropriate political act" the rumored presentation of an honorary degree to the Secretary of State at the June 11 ceremonies.

TURGUT OZAL

State University of New York at Albany Turkey's President, citing a busy schedule, backed out of last Sunday's commencement exercises after students protested his country's human-rights abuses.

joy during presidential election years. An early-bird contest would be likely to force Democratic candidates to give short shrift to the two smaller states so contenders could focus on California's wide-ranging constituencies and demonstrate national appeal. Willie Brown, Democratic speaker of the California assembly, hopes to schedule the primary on the first Tuesday in March, which would position it just a week before the "Super Tuesday" group of Southern primaries.

Brown disputes the current notion that few Democrats are willing to run against George Bush next year. The local party says it has received feelers from Senators Bill Bradley of New

Jersey, Jay Rockefeller of West Virginia and Tom Harkin of Iowa, as well as Virginia Governor Doug Wilder and Jesse Jackson.

It's Undiplomatic, But I Meant It

Western frustration with Israel may be running deeper than top diplomats are willing to admit publicly. In a stinging private speech before an Anglo-Arab group, David Gore-Booth, the British assistant under secretary for Middle Eastern affairs, declared that in its handling of the occupied West Bank and Gaza, Israel is little or no better than any other Middle Eastern state in terms of its militarism, standard of democracy and denial of human rights. The Foreign Office expert attributed the instability of the region to "Israel's refusal to allow the Palestinians to have the same rights as those they claim for themselves." After his unusually candid comments surfaced in the British press, Gore-Booth was quick to call them his "personal views." But the senior diplomat was not even reprimanded.

Friends in High Places

Does John Sununu aim to replace Energy Secretary James Watkins with an ideological soulmate? Watkins has pursued an independent policy of conservation and regulation that has irritated the White House chief of staff. If Watkins is forced to quit, which some insiders expect this summer, deputy assistant secretary Victor Stello is an early favorite for the Cabinet post. Stello, a longtime pal of Sununu's, shares his enthusiasm for relaxed regulation of nuclear power. The Administration nominated Stello for a job supervising the nation's nuclear-weapons programs last year but withdrew his name and installed him at a lower level after he was criticized during confirmation hearings for his past performance at the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. Witnesses accused Stello of deliberately delaying a probe into health and safety procedures at a New York State nuclear-power plant.

Horns for the Highest Bidders

Investments ranging from art to real estate are suffering from depression nowadays, but the bidding for elk horn is still going strong. Boy Scouts in Jackson, Wyo., who each year auction off the antlers shed by bull elk at the nearby National Elk Refuge, earlier this month collected a total of \$76,177, or about \$11.20 per lb. The price per pound has been rising, in part to Asian bidders who can sell ground elk horn for as much as \$300 per oz. because of its purported aphrodisiac and



medicinal qualities. But this year Korean buyers sat on their hands, complaining that the ever pricier horns were now out of their range. The 6,839 lbs. of antlers went to 31 domestic buyers, who will use them largely to make furniture.

Trump: The Art Of the Threat

Who else but Donald Trump could come up with a way to attract attention in Palm Beach, Fla., in the midst of the Kennedy rape scandal? The down-sized duke of debt wants to subdivide Mar-a-Lago, the historic ocean-side estate he bought in 1985. Trump plans to slice the property into nine parcels that could bring him a total of \$30 million. But some locals oppose the plan, prompting the town's landmarks commission to postpone for a month its decision on Trump's application. He has warned that if the board turns him down, he will sell the mansion to the Unification Church. The prospect of Moonies hawking flowers on the streets of Palm Beach is expected to have a powerful effect on the panel. ■

In 1981, the quality of American cars was just plain lousy. But this is 1991.

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So 120 billion dollars in new plants, new technology, new cars, new trucks, and millions in retraining have resulted in the biggest turnaround in the history of industrial America.

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The quality issue is rapidly becoming a non-issue. The huge gap that once existed between America and the Japanese is closing fast.

One American brand is now ahead of Honda in the same survey that has enthroned Honda quality. And the other American brands are catching up fast.

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What's happened to Chrysler quality?

One way quality is measured is by the number of things that stay right with your car.

Response Analysis Corporation of Princeton asked new car owners if they had any problems with 89 different items. According to the RAC report, an average of 87 items were no problem in Honda Accord. And 85.9 items were no problem in our Dodge Spirit and Plymouth Acclaim.*

Only a small statistical difference in things that stay right. And who doesn't want things to stay right?

Highest Customer Satisfaction ranking of all American manufacturers. Can it be done without quality?

Not if it's based on product quality and dealer service. And that's exactly the

*Survey sample size: 200 per vehicle. **J.D. Power and Associates 1987-1990 Customer Satisfaction with Product Quality and Dealer Service. ***1986-1989 passenger cars. **J.D. Power and Associates 1991 Light Duty Truck Customer Satisfaction with Product Quality and Dealer Service. **Study based on a total of 10,458 responses. **T.C.A.R. Inc. 1991 Early Buyer Study. Imperial classification: Large Luxury segment. ***C.A.R. Inc. 1991 Early Buyer Study. Fifth Avenue classification: Basic Large segment. ****Excludes vehicles built for Chrysler: Imports, Laser, Talon, Monaco, Summit.

basis of the J.D. Power and Associates survey.

It ranks Chrysler the highest of the Big Three car companies for the fourth year in a row!*

Chrysler Town & Country is ranked the highest in customer satisfaction of any minivans, import or domestic.**

And Dodge full-size vans are ranked highest in customer satisfaction of all full-size vans.**

We know how to achieve customer satisfaction. With quality.

One way to improve quality is to make your best the best.

Chrysler Imperial has the highest quality rating of any car in its class. Higher than Cadillac Sedan DeVille. Higher than Lincoln Town Car. That's based on a survey of owners done by the Consumer Attitude Research Company†.

The same research reported the New Yorker Fifth Avenue has the highest quality of workmanship rating of any car in its class.***

Our best is indeed the best.

The real issue for the '90s is not quality, but safety. Yours.

We believe quality will be a non-issue in the '90s. It will be comparable. The real issue for the 1990s will be safety.

And we have a head start.

Chrysler is the only company to put drivers' air bags in every car it builds in the U.S.!†† And we have the only driver's minivan air bag. To be fully effective, the air bag must be used with a seat belt. But it will add a level of safety the customer should not be asked to live without.

Honda says they will have air bags in all their cars for the 1994 model year. Toyota and Nissan say 1993. GM says 1995. We say the sooner the better.

Chrysler has more vehicles with standard anti-lock brakes than Honda, Toyota and Nissan together.

And by the way, Chrysler offers more models with 4-wheel drive and all-wheel drive than Honda, Toyota and Nissan combined.

We sincerely hope everybody will make safety their first priority for the '90s. The industry has dragged its feet long enough.

We believe a car engineered for safety is a car engineered for quality.

And for the ultimate benefit of the consumer.



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“Government . . . may validly choose to fund childbirth over abortion.”

—CHIEF JUSTICE WILLIAM REHNQUIST,
THE MAJORITY OPINION

Nation

TIME/JUNE 3, 1991

SUPREME COURT

Gagging the Clinics

The Justices did not disturb the constitutional right to an abortion but made it illegal to discuss the procedure in federally funded centers

By JILL SMOLOWE

When politicians, both Democrats and Republicans, latched on to the abortion issue as the sort of emotional question that extracts votes and campaign funds from true believers, they unleashed a venomous public argument. That debate heated up again last week in the wake of a highly divisive Supreme Court decision. The Justices upheld a federal regulation, conceived by the Reagan Administration three years ago to assuage conservative constituents, that bans discussion of abortion in federally funded health clinics.

The court's ruling in *Rust v. Sullivan* made little medical or intellectual or moral sense. It does not forbid women to seek abortion counseling and referrals. But it narrows—and in some cases may even eliminate—access to such services for many poor and low-income women who cannot afford private medical advice, thereby placing informed choice beyond their reach. “For these women,” Justice Harry Blackmun warned in a harsh dissenting opinion, “the government will have obliterated the freedom to choose as surely as if it had banned abortions outright.” The court's action set pro- and anti-abortion advocates at one another again, arguing the merits of the decision itself and predicting fearfully or hopefully that the court will next go the full distance and outlaw abortion altogether.

The court's 5-to-4 vote forces the thousands of clinics that get aid from Washington under Title X of the Public Health Service Act to make a stark choice: either halt their abortion-counseling and-referral services or forgo federal funds, at a time when

most clinics are strapped for cash. Until last week, the 1988 regulations—which bar such clinics from offering either spoken instruction or printed materials that “encourage, promote or advocate abortion”—were not enforced, pending the outcome of legal challenges.

While the ruling does not directly threaten the fundamental right to an abortion granted under the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision, the court divided over the practical consequences for the 4 million women who rely on Title X funding. In his majority opinion, Chief Justice William Rehnquist contended that the ban on abortion counseling leaves a woman “in no different position than she would have been if the government had not enacted Title X.” Blackmun, who had penned the *Roe* decision, differed sharply, pointing to the 1988 regulation that requires clinic staff members to answer all abortion inquiries with the words “The project does not consider abortion an appropriate method of family planning.” He warned that a patient will construe this message “as professional advice to forgo her right to obtain an abortion.”

The vote that stirred the most notice was the tie-breaking yea cast by David Souter, the court's newest Justice. Pro-choice advocates had earlier been encouraged by Souter's sharp questioning of U.S. Solicitor General Kenneth Starr during oral arguments in the *Rust* case last fall. “The physician cannot perform a normal professional responsibility,” Souter had said. “You are telling us [that the government] in effect may preclude professional speech.” Yet last week Souter concurred in

At a Baltimore center: pregnant patients will no longer be told their full range of options



“This is a course nearly as noxious as overruling Roe directly . . .”

—JUSTICE HARRY BLACKMUN,
IN DISSENT

A majority opinion based on that very reasoning. Since the ruling did not directly address the question of a woman's right to an abortion, it does not accurately preface how Souter will tilt in any future challenge to *Roe*. Still, anti-abortion advocates feel they have found a friend in Souter. "We are delighted that President Bush's first appointee voted with the majority," said Douglas Johnson, of the National Right to Life Committee. Pro-choice advocates regard last week's holding in *Rust* as an ominous harbinger of decisions to come. "Justice Souter showed his true colors today," said Judith Lichtman, president of the Women's Legal Defense Fund, adding that the *Roe* ruling was in "immediate peril."

Some believe that the First Amendment may be endangered as well. Faye Wattleton, president of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, which operates nearly 900 clinics in 49 states, called the decision to halt abortion counseling "an unimaginable blow to free speech." From Capitol Hill came rumblings that liberty of expression had been, as Democratic Congressman Ron Wyden of Oregon put it, "thrown into the trash can." But the toughest counterpunch was landed by Blackmun, who charged the court with "viewpoint-based suppression of speech."

The ruling also raised disturbing concerns about medical ethics. Alexander Sanger, president of Planned Parenthood of New York City, said the 1988 regulations amount to "government-enforced malpractice" by violating "the most basic principles of health care: telling patients the truth, the whole truth, about their condition and their options." Within hours of the *Rust* decision, Sanger announced that the Planned Parenthood clinic in the South Bronx, where petitioner Dr. Irving Rust serves as medical director, will give up Title X funds and continue to advise women on their full range of options.

In practical terms, what will be the effect of the *Rust* decision? In the clinics, constitutional questions are reduced to basics: Where can I get an abortion? How much will it cost? "We are literally, totally, utterly gagged," says Amy Dienesch, executive director of Planned Parenthood in the Chicago area. "Women won't have help being referred to a reputable or safe provider." Moreover, clinics that choose to give up federal funds may have to cut staff and curtail hours. Warns Tom Kring of the California Regional Family Planning Council: "The cutbacks may force women seeking first-trimester abortions into waiting longer and longer," an outcome that poses greater medical risks. Some counselors fear that the people in the poor neighborhoods served by Title X clinics will misunderstand the message of the latest court rul-

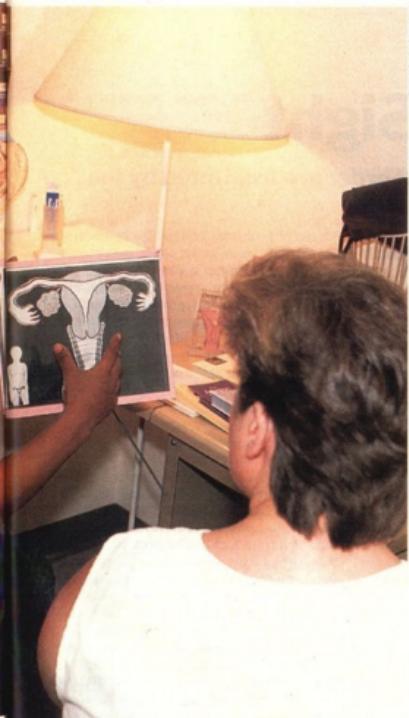


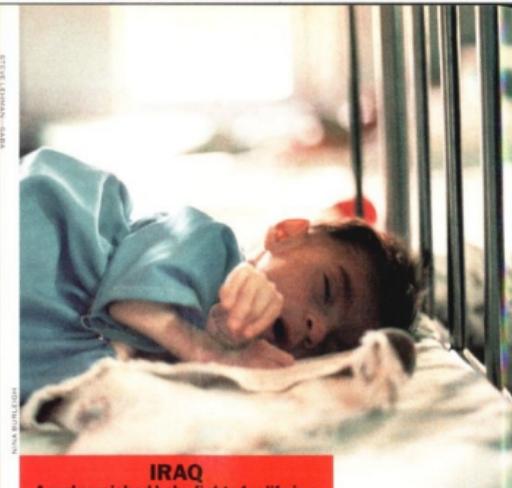
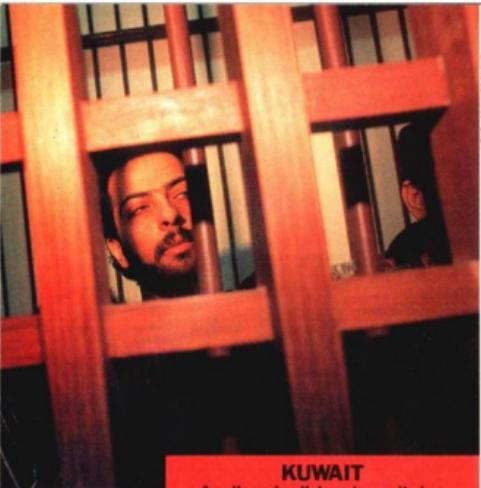
A fierce no to the newest Justice's yeo vote

ing. Many women may conclude that all counseling services have been halted. As a result, they may stop visiting the centers and receiving preventive care—a primary goal of Title X funding. Brenda Alston, 29, who is a patient at *Rust*'s clinic, had a succinct response for the Justices: "No need in coming if you can't talk about the things you want to."

Another result of the decision could be the further exaggeration of a two-tiered health-care system: one that provides affluent women with the full range of options and offers poor women either skewed information or a range of services severely constrained by funding limitations. "A double standard of medical care is now not only legal," argues Sanger, "but mandatory in this country." Wattleton asserts that the congressional intent behind Title X was to "help needy women, not victimize them by subjecting them to second-class health care."

Pro-choice advocates hope that Congress will step forward and strike down the 1988 regulations. Earlier this year, Congressmen Wyden of Oregon and John Porter, an Illinois Republican, introduced legislation designed to do just that. Prospects for their bill were enhanced by the House's passage last week of a defense-spending package that would allow U.S. service women to obtain abortions in overseas military hospitals at their own expense. But even if Congress did pass the Wyden-Porter bill, it would face an almost certain Bush veto and another protracted political battle that would promise to carry into the 1992 elections. —With reporting by Tom Curry/Chicago and Julie Johnson/Washington





KUWAIT

An alleged collaborator waits in a courtroom holding cell during trials that were shockingly unfair.

IRAQ

A malnourished baby fights for life in a Baghdad hospital. By one estimate, at least 170,000 children will die.

Nation

DIPLOMACY

No Quick Fixes in Sight

U.S. dreams of helping build a new Middle East order are frustrated by the realities of a troubled and troubling region

By LISA BEYER

Wearing a Saddam Hussein T shirt in a country recently invaded and plundered by the Iraqi leader's forces is a provocative thing to do. But is it worthy of a 15-year jail term followed by deportation? That was the punishment a Kuwaiti court handed last week to an Iraqi man accused of that offense. Later, responding to international outrage over the sentence, the Kuwaiti government claimed that the man had also worked for Iraqi intelligence. But by that time the authorities had precious little credibility as they tried to defend their brand of justice. Among 10 people tried last week for collaboration, some saw their lawyers for the first time in court. No witnesses were called, no evidence was produced, and there was no right of appeal.

Those in the dock were not the only ones squirming through the kangaroo sessions. The Bush Administration was chafing too, embarrassed by the brutish behavior of a regime that it had risked so much to restore to power. Embracing a government as undemocratic as Kuwait's was awkward from the outset, but expectations were

high that the liberated country would march briskly toward liberalization. Instead, the ruling band of brothers and cousins that runs the country seems to have settled comfortably into its old habits.

In other ways, too, Washington's plans to help recast the Middle East order have been frustrated. Iraq remains a source of tension. Arab-Israeli peace efforts are fondering. And the Arab states that pulled together against Saddam have returned to quibbling among themselves. For all the brilliant clarity of the allies' military victory, the peace has produced a murky landscape. Among the reasons:

The sanctions dilemma. The Administration, exasperated by Saddam's continued hold on power, refuses to remove economic sanctions against Iraq until Saddam is ousted. But accounts coming out of Iraq of the deprivations suffered by the population have raised questions about the appropriateness of that policy. A Harvard University medical team reported last week that health-care problems in the country were "desperate" and worsening. The group predicted that at least 170,000 children will die this year be-

cause of problems brought on by the war.

Moral issues aside, there is considerable doubt whether a continued embargo will speed Saddam's downfall. The Administration hopes that popular resentment of the hardships Iraqis face will help provoke a coup d'état. That calculation may well prove flawed. Would-be plotters, whether in the military or in the government, are insulated from these travails because of their privileged access to anything in short supply. Besides, the resentment could be directed at the authors of the embargo instead of toward Saddam.

Kurdistan woes. When Bush first deployed U.S. troops to Iraq's north to establish a safe haven for Kurdish refugees who had fled from Saddam's forces, he swore it would be a very short posting. Five weeks later, the 12,000 soldiers remain in place, with no return date in the offing. Washington had hoped that U.N. police officers now arriving in Kurdistan would replace U.S. and European troops. But the U.N. cops are lightly armed, and the Kurds have little confidence in them. To coax the last 100,000 refugees still camping in Iraq's northern mountains back down to their homes in Da-

huk, which lies just south of the safe-haven zone, the U.S. and its allies last week reluctantly began to dispatch a small military force to extend protection to the city.

Obstacle to liberalization.

The closest President Bush came to publicly criticizing Kuwait for denying due process to accused collaborators was to say last week that the government should "extend the fair trial to everybody." U.S. officials insist that they regularly raise human-rights complaints with Kuwaiti officials in private. But Washington feels it can only go so far in pressuring the Kuwaitis to reform their society—particularly when it comes to holding elections, which the Emir has promised in 1992. The Saudis, Washington's most important Arab allies, are highly allergic to any agitation for elections. "We're under a lot of pressure from the Saudis not to push Kuwait too hard," says a well-placed staff member on Capitol Hill.

Arab-Israeli peace. Efforts to convene a peace conference that would begin direct negotiations between Israel and its Arab enemies remain deadlocked because of disagreements between Syria and the Jewish state over the format for talks. Secretary of State James Baker said last week that he saw an even bigger impediment to the peace process in Israel's determination to continue building settlements in occupied Arab lands. "Nothing has made my job of trying to find Arab and Palestinian partners for [talks with] Israel more difficult," Baker told Congress in an unusually harsh blast at the U.S. ally.

Gulf security. If the gulf states learned anything from Saddam's cakewalk into Kuwait, it was that they must find better ways to defend themselves. What appeared to

Speak No Evil

From the first days after Kuwait's liberation, journalists and human-rights groups have chronicled major violations—detentions, beatings, torture, summary executions—committed by Kuwaiti armed forces and vigilantes seeking revenge against those suspected of collaborating with the Iraqis. But the Bush Administration, which loudly denounced Iraqi atrocities in occupied Kuwait, has consistently played down charges of abuses by the gulf state the U.S. fought to liberate. Items:

► On March 8, State Department deputy spokesman Richard Boucher was asked about Kuwaiti mistreatment of Palestinians. "There are reports of people getting a hard time at checkpoints," he said. "We do not have information on beatings and killings."

► The following day, one week after reopening the U.S. embassy in Kuwait City, Ambassador Edward Gnehm was asked about human-rights abuses. "We have not had nearly the difficulties that people anticipated," he said.

► After Amnesty International reported on April 18 that scores of Kuwaiti residents had been arbitrarily arrested, "many brutally tortured by Kuwaiti armed forces and members of 'resistance' groups," the State Department replied that "the situation by most accounts in Kuwait is very much improved over what existed some weeks ago"—thus contradicting its earlier upbeat assessments. State said it was continuing "to discuss with the Kuwaiti authorities all reports of abuses," but did not say whether it considered any of those reports to be true.

► Visiting Kuwait on April 22, Secretary of State James Baker confirmed human-rights violations there—indirectly. "The Crown Prince made clear that there were human-rights abuses following the early days of the liberation," said Baker. He did not publicly condemn those violations on behalf of the U.S. A month later, human-rights workers said they had evidence of continuing abuses, many committed by Kuwaiti officials.

► After last week's summary trial of suspected collaborators, State Department spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler consulted Ambassador Gnehm and chose to emphasize the positive. She said the U.S. embassy had urged the Kuwaiti government "to have open trials; they were open. We also urged that the defendants have a right to counsel; they did." But she ignored the fact that lawyers had not met their clients, saw none of the prosecution's evidence and could not cross-examine witnesses. Under questioning, she acknowledged "glitches" in the trials. Only later did the State Department issue a mild communiqué saying the U.S. "was concerned by allegations that due process may not have been fully observed." —By J.F.O. McAllister/Washington

Syria's 19,000 troops are also quietly decamping. It is unclear which side ordered those departures and why, but many diplomats believe that the gulf states are sure the U.S. will again rush to their defense if needed and thus see no need to pay their Arab neighbors, whom they see as less trustworthy, to stand guard.

On the question of how to institutionalize their alliances with the U.S., however, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia hold different views—neither of which coincides with Washington's. Kuwait desperately wants the U.S. to leave behind a permanent force. That is unacceptable to the Bush Administration, which repeatedly pledged during the gulf buildup that the deployment would be temporary. The Saudis are concerned about appearing to be American lackeys and want their military ties with the U.S. to be invisible. Senior Saudi officials have even expressed misgivings at a Washington proposal to leave U.S. tanks and other equipment behind in Saudi Arabia.

Disappointment over the lack of rapid progress toward a collective-security system—or for that matter toward any of Washington's Middle East policy goals—is rooted in part in the unrealistically high hopes that were raised by the war's decisive outcome. Says Shireen Hunter, a Middle East expert at Washington's Center for Strategic and International Studies: "The impression was created that we could write our own ticket, and that was bad."

Bush himself created much of that illusion with his constant talk of a new world order. Like the rest of the country, his Administration has since been sobered by the reality that things do not change so rapidly in the Middle East.

—Reported by

Michael Duffy and J.F.O. McAllister/Washington and Lara Marlowe/Damascus

Given the current events in Iraq, how successful was the war with Iraq?

13% Totally

32% Largely

Only partly 46%

7% Not at all

Should the U.S. maintain a larger military presence in the Middle East than before the war in order to protect friendly nations and safeguard vital U.S. interests, such as oil?

Yes 43%

No 48%

Should the U.S. continue to give top priority to maintaining Israel's strength and security even if Israel rejects U.S. proposals for resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict?

Yes 30%

No 58%



IMMIGRATION: Proponents say the new jobs in Mexico would help stanch the flow of illegal immigrants, such as these near Tijuana

TREATIES

From Yukon to Yucatán

Congress authorizes Bush to negotiate a U.S.-Mexico free-trade pact that would create a \$6 trillion market, but critics fear lost jobs and environmental woes

By S.C. GWYNNE WASHINGTON

To hear George Bush tell it, a free-trade pact between the U.S. and Mexico would be the next best thing to a free lunch. Abolishing trade barriers between the two nations would unleash a flood of new investment that would create hundreds of thousands of jobs on both sides of the border and help stanch the tidal wave of illegal immigration from Mexico into the Southwestern states. The only downside would be temporary "dislocations" in a few American industries until they can adjust to new economic realities.

But to the President's equally passionate adversaries, the proposed North American free-trade agreement would be a disaster. It would cause devastating job losses and a further decline for struggling U.S. manufacturing industries. It would raise the specter of an environmental catastrophe equivalent to a 2,000-mile Love Canal along the U.S.-Mexico border. And it would increase America's vulnerability to Asian competition by allowing the Japanese to take advantage of Mexico's cheap labor and use that country as a staging area for a new surge of exports to the U.S.

The enormous gulf between these competing visions of the future has produced

one of the hottest legislative battles of the year—and the most feverish trade debate in memory. It pits a muscular coalition of protectionist Democrats, Big Labor and environmental groups against free-market Republicans, much of corporate America, and a high-profile Mexican government team backed by squadrons of big-time lobbyists and public relations firms.

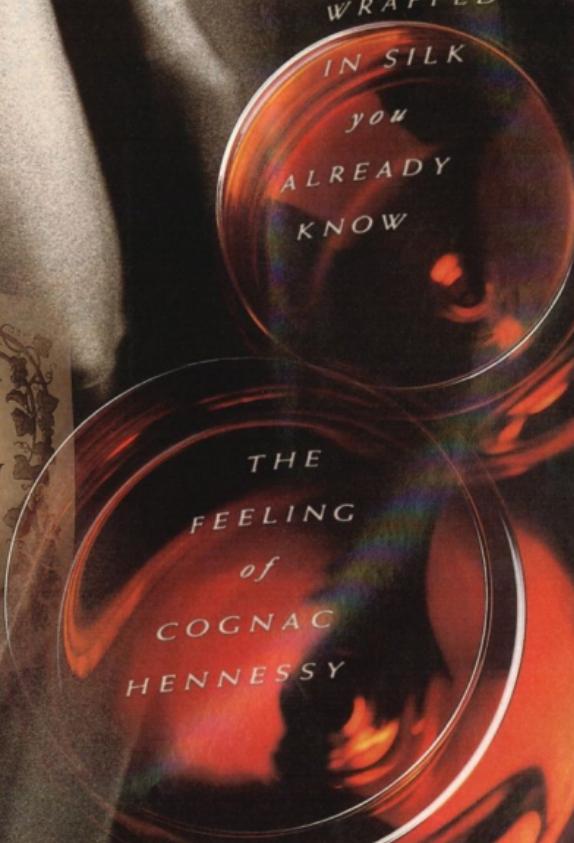
The issue came to a head last week when both houses of Congress, after heated arguments, passed resolutions extending the so-called fast-track authority that U.S. Administrations have long used to negotiate international trade agreements. Translated from Washington-speak, fast track would authorize the President and his Trade Representative, Carla Hills, to cut a deal with Mexico without congressional meddling. The lawmakers would have the power to vote down a treaty once it is reached, but not to alter it.

At stake in this showdown is Bush's vision of a North American free-trade zone stretching from the Yukon to the Yucatán. If he is able to add a Mexican pact to the free-trade agreement concluded with Canada in 1988, the effect would be to consolidate 360 million consumers into a \$6 trillion market, 32% larger

than the European Community. The question being posed by skeptics is whether the pact will provide the benefits Bush predicts, or instead increase America's already dire trade deficit, which is expected to reach \$75 billion this year. Both economic theory and historic fact support Bush. The Soviet Union's imploding economy is a good example of what happens when a country closes its doors to trade through tariffs, import quotas and other constraints. Mexico, in contrast, offers perhaps the best current example of the benefits that can occur when a country low-



POLLUTION: Environmentalists warn that an already fouled border may turn into a cesspool



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EVER
BEEN
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ers trade barriers. Since the mid-1980s, Mexico has taken a number of daring, unilateral steps to shed the shackles of protectionism. It has slashed its maximum tariff rates from 100% to 20%, and its average tariff from 25% to 10%, while scrapping other nontariff barriers to imports. Seeking a larger role for free enterprise, the country has put many of its 1,155 inefficient state-owned companies up for sale to private interests.

Result: after years of negative growth, Mexico's economy is expanding at a brisk 4% annual rate. Inflation has plummeted from 160% in 1987 to about 25%. The boom has created new markets for U.S. exports, which have more than doubled, from \$12.4 billion in 1986 to \$28.4 billion last year, creating an estimated 264,000 new jobs in the U.S. in machinery, equipment and agricultural sectors. Mexico is America's third largest trading partner (after Canada and Japan), importing \$295 per capita from the U.S., vs. \$266 for the European Community.

According to separate studies by the University of Maryland, the accounting firm Peat Marwick and the International Trade Commission, a free-trade agreement would accelerate these welcome trends. The University of Maryland study, for example, predicts that the U.S. economy would gain 44,500 new jobs in the first five years of a free-trade pact. The big winners would include producers of machinery and metals, chemicals, plastics and rubber. The losers: clothing, construction, parts of the fruit and vegetable business, furniture, leather and glass.

Mexican industries, notably capital goods like machine tools, would suffer considerably from U.S. competition at first. But those losses would be more than balanced by a flood of new investment from the U.S., Japan and other nations. That influx could help offset Mexico's bur-



AGRICULTURE: While free trade opens a vast market for U.S. produce, some growers fear competition from Mexican workers, like these broccoli pickers in Irapuato

donsome \$97 billion debt, for which there are few prospects of forgiveness.

The pact's opponents look at the evidence and reach opposite conclusions. They fear that Mexico's low wages (averaging \$2.32 an hour, vs. \$14.31 for American workers) will tempt U.S. companies to move vast numbers of unskilled and semi-skilled manufacturing jobs south of the border. A recent study by the General Accounting Office, for example, found that employment in the U.S. furniture industry dropped 10% in the past year. All those jobs were lost when 28 wood-furniture makers moved to Mexico in search of cheaper labor and less restrictive environmental rules. Florida's fruit and vegetable growers claim the plan would "annihilate" 8,700 agricultural jobs and billions of the state's farming revenue. According to the United Automobile Workers, 75,000 jobs have already been lost to Mexico.

Those who would try to protect low-skilled jobs have good reason to fear the agreement. Even though Mexicans are far less productive than their American counterparts, there is no arguing with the competitive advantages of cheap wages. Just how American workers would be affected by more open borders can be measured by what has happened to the 2,000 plants along the U.S.-Mexico line that enjoy barrier-free trade. Nine out of 10 of those plants—known as *maquiladoras*—are owned by U.S. compa-

nies; they employ 465,000 Mexican workers, who are mainly engaged in assembly of electronic, automotive and textile products for export to the U.S. Those are, in fact, jobs that have gone south. And while American manufacturers argue that this kept jobs from moving to Asia, that is small comfort to displaced, unskilled American workers.

Democratic Senator Bob Kerrey of Nebraska, who supports free trade, says the only solution is for the U.S. to come to grips with the deteriorating competitiveness of its work force. "There's a much larger issue here," says Kerrey. "If all I do is focus on low-skilled jobs lost in textiles or small-scale manufacturing, I'd be missing the point, saying, well, I'm just going to protect those jobs. I believe free trade is good for us in the long run, but I also believe that we have to address the issue of worker education and training and readjustment."

Another fear expressed by critics is that a free-trade agreement, which will have the effect of locking in all of Mexico's liberalizations, will end up simply providing the Japanese with opportunities to invest in plants that will export to the U.S. That would squarely contradict one of the Bush Administration's primary aims: to create a trading bloc in the western hemisphere to compete with the formidable bloc being created by Japan in Asia.

"[Mexican President] Carlos Salinas de Gortari has said Mexico wants Asian investment," says Clyde Prestowitz, president of the Economic Strategy Institute, a Washington think tank. "He wants it in high-value-added, high-technology industries [that will] be exporting to the U.S. What we emphatically don't want to do is to make Mexico safe for Japanese investment." Prestowitz' solution is for the U.S.



MANUFACTURING: Cheaper Mexican labor could win jobs away from American semiskilled workers



Congratulations to Rick Mears, winner of the 1991 Indy 500.

Take away all the intangibles like weather and luck, and the only way you would have taken the checkered flags from the last four Indy 500s was if you were powered by a Chevy Indy V8 engine. Fact is, this remarkable engine hasn't lost an Indy car race since 1989.

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to induce foreign investors to export certain percentages of what they make in Mexico to third countries.

Whatever else it does, a Mexican free-trade agreement seems likely to accelerate the decline in the number of American manufacturing jobs, which provided 35% of U.S. employment in 1948 but now account for only 17%. In time, say economists, both technological advances in the U.S. and competitive pressures from low-wage countries will mean the loss of most of America's unskilled or semiskilled manufacturing jobs.

One of the major arguments against the proposed pact is not economic but ecological: the *maquiladoras* have an unenviable track record of pollution, which is affecting the health of Americans across the border. Says Stewart Hudson of the National Wildlife Federation: "The *maquiladora* program is a case study of the kinds of environmental catastrophes that can happen where trade and investment rule." The biggest fear of environmental groups, which include Environmental Action, Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth, is that the leaks and spills and pollution of border rivers such as the New River and the Nogales Wash will turn the border into a cesspool, and that Mexico will end up exporting to the U.S. both its pollution and products made in environmentally unfriendly ways.

Bush's victory on Capitol Hill last week was the result of some uncharacteristically deft political maneuvering on the domestic front. He has succeeded in splintering both textile and environmental lobbies, while mollifying fence-sitting Democrats such as Richard Gephardt by assuring them that the issues of environment, rules of origin covering foreign investors in Mexico, and adjustment programs for displaced workers will be addressed before any agreement is signed. Bush also cornered the Democrats into choosing between two important constituencies, labor and Hispanics. Just as Bush hoped, the Democratic National Committee recently denounced fast-track authorization, which put them on the side of the shrinking constituency, against the growing one. "The party is not looking at the numbers," said a Democratic Congressman who supported fast track. "They're choosing the protectionist label over a community that will be the largest ethnic minority in 10 years."

Although last week's vote cleared away the biggest obstacle to negotiating a trade agreement with Mexico, it will be some time before Congress gets to vote on an actual agreement. When it is completed, it is likely to be so loaded with adjustments for threatened industries that very little pain will be felt in this country for a long time. And the benefits, according to most economists, will be felt most keenly by the next generation. —With reporting by Michael Duffy/Washington and Laura Lopez/Mexico City

The Presidency

Hugh Sidey

"The Greatest Eclipse"

They came by the hundreds last week, creating limo-lock on Georgetown's elegant N Street. They gossiped under the Renoir and the Van Gogh in Pamela Harriman's salon. They sipped their Chablis in tribute to one of this age's truly great Democrats, Clark Clifford, and his new book, *Counsel to the President*, the story of a half-century of political grandeur. But one prominent Democrat, looking beyond the evening's scheduled gaiety, said, "We are witnessing the greatest eclipse of a political party in this country in our history."

How did it happen that these old Truman-Kennedy-Johnson-Carter warriors, who rose out of anger and even hunger, crossed over into the sated land of Republicans? Victims of their own remarkable success, maybe. "Must be \$50 billion on the hoof here," muttered a Kennedy veteran. Mrs. Harriman, one of the wealthiest

Americans, is a kind of housemother to the Democratic Party. Megamillion lawyers like Lloyd Cutler, once counsel to President Carter, were a dime or so a dozen. "It's hard to get fire in the belly over health insurance when it's stuffed with pâté," quipped the Kennedy man.

The Democrats have always had patrons and participants of great wealth, but they were guided by a lot of folks off the streets and shop floors. Fifty years ago, the caustic, rumpled Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas would stomp through such gatherings reminding people that he rode the rods out of Yakima, Wash., to go to Columbia Law School in 1922. Twenty-five years ago, Minnesota's Senator Hubert Humphrey palmed his way around the stately chambers in the righteous sheen of polyester. And a labor leader like George Meany still had the hands of a plumber. If there was anybody at the Harriman reception who had done physical labor in the past 10 years, or now makes less than six figures, he was parking the Mercedes for the guests.

"Where's Bob Strauss?" one attendee inquired. Strauss, once the Democratic

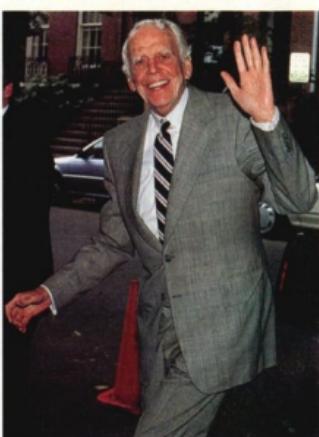
National Committee chairman, was more recently the middleman who raked off an

\$8 million fee for setting up the purchase of an American movie company by a Japanese high-tech firm—just the kind of deal Democrats used to excoriate.

"Probably in Japan," came the answer. A couple of wags took estimates on the cost of Clifford's flawless Glen plaid suit. High estimate: \$2,000. Low: \$1,200.

Although the partygoers described the evening as "upbeat and happy," it was in reality a melancholy event. Clifford, who became a latter-day banker, is now embroiled in controversy over his ties to a foreign bank convicted of money laundering. Nor was that the only cloud hovering over this Democratic Olympus. Alan Cranston, criticized by the Senate ethics committee for his shady dealings in the savings and loan scandal, showed up at the book party. So did Ted Kennedy, wrapped in the shadow of the Palm Beach sex scandal.

Next day, as if to underscore the Democratic Party's dispiriting prospects, the aging, battle-scarred George McGovern announced at a National Press Club luncheon that he would not run again for President. He had, he explained, consulted Richard Nixon, of all people, who told McGovern he should pose two questions to himself: Did he have something to say that others would not say? And would they listen? George McGovern had no sure answers and admitted it.



Clifford: all dressed up and no place to go

American Notes



Arrested: Volsan-Curry

CRIME

A Sad Day for Detroit's Finest

When Detroit police chief William Hart and his former deputy were indicted last February for stealing \$2.6 million

from the city, it seemed that the troubled department had nowhere to go but up. Wrong. Last week, after an eight-month FBI investigation, 11 current and former police officers and five civilians were charged in a scheme to provide protection for drug dealers and money launderers. Among those arrested: Mayor Coleman Young's niece, Cathy Volsan-Curry and her father, Willie Clyde Volsan Jr. The pair allegedly introduced the cops to undercover FBI agents posing as drug dealers.

The FBI, which videotaped the sting operation, claims that police officers protected seven air shipments of cocaine and laundered money, besides escorting the fake drug dealers around Detroit in police cars. "This is a sad day," said police chief Stanley Knox. "It's only a few people, but it's going to hurt everybody." ■

EDUCATION

Cracking the Ivy Cartel

For more than two decades the eight universities that make up the Ivy League, along with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, have got together and matched one another's financial-aid offers to students. It was an attempt, they say, to avoid bidding wars for the most desirable prospects. But Attorney General Dick Thornburgh charged the schools with price fixing, a violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act.

"This collegiate cartel [has] denied [students] the right to compare prices and discounts among schools," he said, "just as they would in shopping for any other service."

The schools protested that they had done nothing wrong. Last week, however, the Ivies—but not M.I.T.—signed a consent agreement ending

their arrangement. They also canceled an annual "overlap meeting," at which they discussed financial aid for students who had been accepted by two or more schools in the group. Whatever its effect on future aid offers, last week's action was unlikely to hold down private-college tuition bills, which increased by an average of about 10% each year during the 1980s. ■



Harvard Yard: charges of price fixing



Stealth bomber: grounding the President's pet program

DEFENSE

Is the B-2 Bombing?

The power of the purse is Congress's most effective weapon, and the House last week wielded it like a double-bladed sword. Although the House approved George Bush's request for \$291 billion in total military spending next year, its version of the 1992 defense-spending bill axed the President's pet B-2 Stealth bomber program and drastically cut funding for his Strategic Defense Initiative antiballistic-missile project.

The Administration had requested four new B-2s as part of its goal of acquiring 75 of

the bombers by the end of the century; the House action would halt production at the 15 aircraft previously authorized. In cutting Star Wars spending to \$3.5 billion from the Administration's requested \$5.2 billion, the House freed money for more conventional weapons. The measure also authorized servicewomen to have abortions in military clinics, at their own expense, and cleared female pilots to fly combat missions at the discretion of their services. All these issues are likely to be decided differently when the Senate produces its bill, but Bush and Defense Secretary Dick Cheney have both warned of a presidential veto if the House version prevails. ■

HISTORY

A Real Yankee Doodler

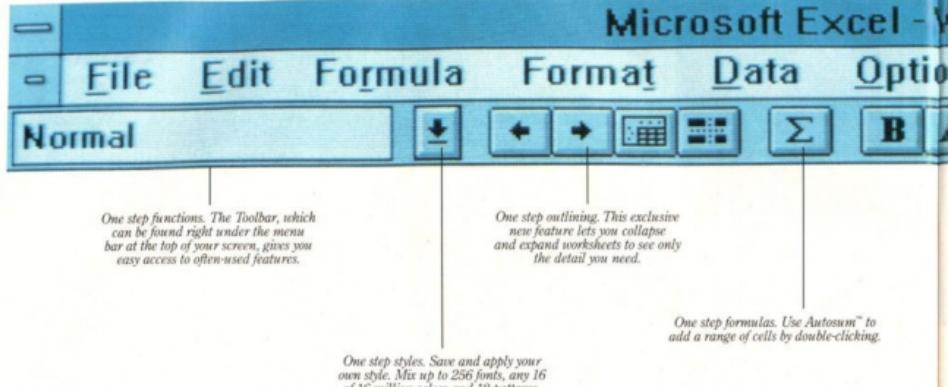
For 86 years, two copies of the Constitution lay forgotten in a Boston bank vault. The documents—one with doodles and scribbled notes by Nicholas Gilman, a New Hampshire delegate to the Constitutional Convention—were discovered four years ago. Their existence was made public last week after scholars authenticated them. They are expected to shed new light on the deliberations of 1787 since less than half of the original 60 draft copies are still around.

Gilman was hardly a famous Founding Father, but he left behind a treasure trove. His clapboard home in Exeter, N.H., is now a museum, and its executive director, Richard Tobin, learned of the vault in a note



Gilman: a marginal man

that turned up in the house. "We've been finding things all over," he says, "under the beds, in closets, everywhere." So far, the booty includes a drawing by Paul Revere of the Boston Massacre, papers signed by Louis XVI and Lafayette, and a ring with a lock of George Washington's hair. ■

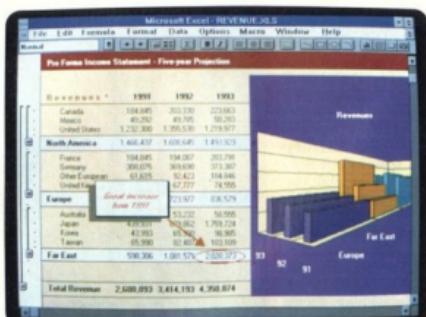


Microsoft Excel

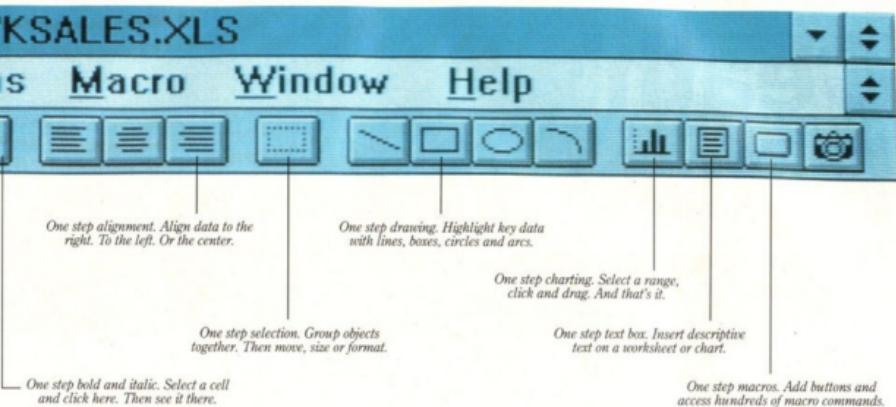
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INDIA

Death's Return Visit

A horrific assassination claims India's most famous son, leaving the nation to ponder a future of growing violence and division

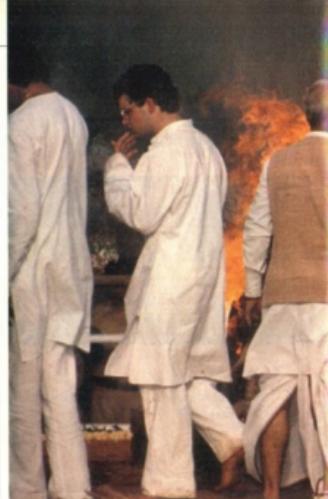
By JAMES WALSH

This is the art of darkness: a young woman offers a sandalwood garland, bows from the waist—and, suddenly, the once and likely future hope of India, a figure invested with the symbolic weight of generations, is obliterated in a deafening roar and a ball of flame. A man whose incandescent family had long been identified with one-sixth of the human race, Rajiv Gandhi last week went the way of his mother Indira, falling to a climate of violence that has steadily overtaken the subcontinent. Rajiv, 46, heir to a miraculous name, disappeared in a fiendish conjurer's trick: amid the theatrics of an electioneering stop, and in the puff of smoke from a bomb.

With one blow, the fortunes of 844 million people became hostage to a terrible uncertainty. On the comeback trail for months, the former Prime Minister had

gone a long way toward regaining public faith in his ability to rescue India from a deepening hole of debt, drift and alienation. His death sickened the country with shame and impotent rage. It was horrifying enough that a bomb could have ripped apart the latest and perhaps last standard bearer of the Nehru-Gandhi line. But India, like most mourners, basically wept for itself. Said Natwar Singh, a former deputy in Gandhi's Cabinet: "What has this country of Buddha and Mahatma Gandhi come to? We were an example to the world. Now we are a warning."

Indians did not love Rajiv in the universal way they adored his grandfather Jawaharlal Nehru, independent India's first and longest-serving Prime Minister. Nor did they honor him with the widespread, if sometimes grudging, respect that they paid Indira Gandhi during her checkered leadership. But they regarded him as an essentially decent man, a reluctant politician



struggling to live up to his inheritance of noblesse oblige.

Beyond that, he was virtually one of *Midnight's Children*, the generation that came into the world on the eve of hard-won independence from the British Empire in 1947. After Rajiv was born in a Bombay hospital in August 1944, Nehru, then a political prisoner, wrote that when "a new birth is intimately connected with us, it becomes a revival of ourselves, and our old hopes center round it." In an important way, the old hopes of India's founding fathers also exploded on May 22, 1991. The desperation of the hour was vividly illustrated by the Congress Party's resort to nominating Gandhi's Italian-born and determinedly apolitical widow Sonia to the party presidency. Her polite refusal, returned within a day of the offer, forced the party to look within for the first nondescendant of Nehru who might hold the reins of government since Lal Bahadur

Fated to Rule

Rajiv Gandhi's path in the world was foreshadowed at its outset. When Indira went into labor with her firstborn, her aunt kept pestering the physician. "Doctor," said Krishna Nehru Huthesing, "it has got to be a boy because my brother has no son." A male heir to Jawaharlal Nehru was uncommonly important. When politics finally called Rajiv, he undertook the challenge with a familiar sense of duty.



1950s Rajiv, second from right, witnesses the shaping of a modern India



1984 Indira's murder propels a reluctant politician into the leadership of his huge country



Along New Delhi's Jamuna River, Rajiv's wife, right, and son, second left, circle the pyre

notable whose opposition bloc went on to win the government, charged at the time that Gandhi, who usually kept out of the crush and was shielded by a phalanx of commandos, "had lost touch with the people." It was a mistake—as Rajiv saw it—that he did not repeat. While pressing the flesh in the northern state of Bihar on May 5, he spoke about the change. "I used to campaign like this when I was secretary-general of the Congress, in 1984, but when I was Prime Minister I was hijacked by the system," he said. "There is still a threat, of course; it hasn't come down. But there is no choice. Either you campaign or you look after your security."

So it was that when he arrived in Sripurumbudur, he barely paused before wading into the crowd. A woman, judged to be Tamil and in her late 20s, pushed her way forward to the red-carpeted greeting queue and handed him a garland. As she bent forward deferentially, as if to touch his feet, a sophisticated explosive device went off with a huge blast, triggered by a manual detonator. It killed him instantly, ripping into his torso and mutilating his face beyond recognition. It also killed at least 15 others. A policewoman lay dead with both legs severed. Nearby was a slain photographer, his camera still slung around his neck.

Shastri briefly succeeded the late patriarch in the gentler year of 1964. India is much changed today. Apart from the egregious act of violence that killed Rajiv, the bloody shirt of extremism and communal vengeance has been threatening to supersede all norms of democracy in the nation. Last week's first round of balloting was attended by an unprecedented wave of killings and voter rigging. And yet Gandhi had held out at least a plausible promise that a restoration of his leadership might help bring back stability after 18 months of rudderless rule. His campaign swing through Tamil Nadu, the keystone state of south India, was almost a perfomatory exercise; it was safe territory, and his Congress Party seemed en route to recovering the national government. In the rural temple town of Sripurumbudur, 26 miles southwest of Madras, Gandhi stepped out of his touring car and greeted a crowd of well-wishers. Though the itinerary had

been hastily drafted, Sripurumbudur was electric with late-night festivities as a throng of 10,000 turned out to welcome Gandhi. At a far corner of the large, hummocky rally ground was a temporary speaker's platform flanked by VIP and press enclosures, with a barricaded space for photographers in front.

Security was light: a scattering of police, no automatic rifles, no metal detectors in evidence, if present at all. Gandhi had

been campaigning with little protection, a marked contrast to his previous style. His mother's assassination by Sikh bodyguards in 1984, the event that catapulted the former airline pilot into the prime ministership, had highlighted his vulnerability. For years he wore a bulletproof vest and surrounded himself with security so tight that opponents had begun ridiculing him.

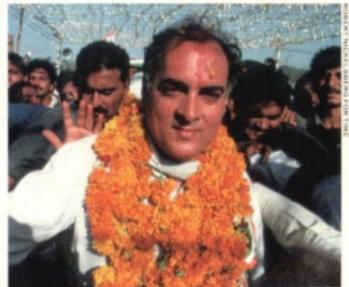
That proved to be an important factor leading to his defeat in the November 1989 elections. V.P. Singh, a former Congress

Amid the mangle of flesh and torn limbs was the garland offerer herself, apparently a suicidal assassin. Her back had taken the full force of the explosion, and her head had been sent flying nearly a dozen feet into the photographers' compound, where it was later discovered with face intact. As investigators reconstructed the crime, she had worn a brace of the kind usually associated with victims of back pain. But the girdle seems to have packed three to five sticks of cyclotrimethylenetrinitramine, a powerful plastic explosive commonly used for demolition work.

Suspicions zeroed in at once on the



1985 The new Prime Minister captures the U.S. imagination



1991 Now an outsider, Gandhi adopts a looser style in trying to win the government again



1991 The final reckoning in a rural town, an assassin's bomb leaving terrible carnage



Mourners fill the streets as the funeral procession passes by New Delhi's India Gate

Tamil Tigers, a combat-hardened band of guerrillas who have been fighting for a separate state in northeast Sri Lanka. Notoriously dedicated and vengeful, the Tigers have mastered terrorist bombing to a degree still unknown among India's own insurgents. Gandhi, whose mother's policies had done much to whelp and teethe the Tigers, earned their enmity in 1987 when he co-authored a peace plan for their offshore island republic. Instead of surrendering their arms, the Tigers fought Indian peace-keeping troops in hit-and-run warfare with extensive casualties.

In the atrocity's immediate aftermath, Gandhi supporters on streets across India wanted to strike back but lacked clear-cut targets for their fury. As the news reached the capital that night, roving groups of young men with stubbly faces and mean looks converged on No. 10 Janpath, Gandhi's home in the heart of New Delhi. They were a rough, ill-clad bunch, much the sort that had gone berserk after Indira's mur-

der and slaughtered thousands of Sikhs around the capital. Their mood worsened as the night wore on, and they beat up several cameramen for no apparent reason. Some chanted slogans blaming the CIA and called for an attack on the U.S. embassy. Others randomly pointed to V.P. Singh one minute, the ultra-nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (B.J.P.) the next.

Later Sonia Gandhi, 44, and her 19-year-old daughter Priyanka quietly escaped from the residence and flew to Madras on an Indian air force plane to claim Rajiv's body. The rest of India was in shock. By government order, shops and offices remained closed, and security forces patrolled the capital. A crucial decision came when elections commissioner T.N. Seshan put off the second and third main rounds of voting for a month. Election-related mayhem had taken 229 lives across the country even before Gandhi's assassination; in its wake, 26 more people died. A week of national mourning was pro-

claimed, and Gandhi's body was laid to rest in state at Teen Murti House, the spacious dwelling that had been the residence of the colonial armed-forces chief under the British Raj.

Gandhi had spent most of his boyhood in Teen Murti (Three Statues) after Nehru had taken it over as the prime ministerial residence. Now the Nehru Memorial, it was the house in which Indira Gandhi had served her father as hostess during the early years of independence. It was an era in which Rajiv and his younger brother Sanjay saw most of the world's major political figures trip through: Presidents and kings, commissioners and emerging Third World statesmen. One anecdote relates that the young Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama were missing at the house during a visit. The spiritual leaders of Tibetans were found in the backyard playing around a wigwam with the Gandhi boys.

That sort of heritage, a bridge to India's early dreams as a nation and even earlier struggle for freedom, will not be replaced easily. The Indian National Congress, with Nehru's father Motilal at his head before him, had been the sturdy vehicle that liberated India from white sahibs, created a promising republic and shaped a sense of common purpose among a kaleidoscopic variety of religions, complexions, castes and tongues. But if the party had once relied on secularism and consensus building, in more recent years it became the fief of one family. Devoted to her country as she was, Indira cultivated the idea that India would come apart at the seams if a Gandhi did not clutch the threads.

She kept her sons sheltered from politics when they were young, and they came of age as political naifs. But in the 1970s, as she centralized power in the Congress and made over the party in her own image, the willful Sanjay was groomed as her logical successor. Wielding power outside of office and the constitution, Sanjay and his Youth Congress loyalists undertook to bend the nation to their fancies, even compelling some sterilizations in the dictatorial years of Indira's 1975-77 Emergency. Sanjay proceeded to kill himself as he had lived—recklessly, in the 1980 crash of an aerobatic plane he was flying. It was then that the self-effacing Rajiv, a pilot with domestic Indian Airlines, was recruited to be his mother's next in line.

Rajiv's goal was to give his country reform, modernization, deregulation—all catchwords underpinning his frequently quoted aim of "bringing India into the 21st century." But he failed to do so in his first stab at leadership, and whether he could have done so during a second time around had remained open to question. "Computerji," as he became known, long ago found that he and his privileged circle of technology lovers were not equal to the task of budging old-line party pros and the

bureaucracy-infested Industrial Raj. As columnist Sunanda Datta-Ray remarked in the *Statesman* of Calcutta last week, "He faltered at least partly because he was a young man in a hurry, because he lacked the conceptual framework and the experience to match his vision." His later years in office were also clouded by charges of hefty bribe taking among aides and by his own imperiousness.

It may be that the Congress Party will benefit from a large sympathy vote. An alternative theory is that Indians, aghast at the party's desperate floundering, will opt in large numbers for the better-organized but politically ominous B.J.P. The outcome in either case would be an ironic footnote to the history of an illustrious clan: its latter-day stamp on public life would have come from an act of great violence.

It was no consolation to supporters of the family that the deaths of both mother and son may have originated in policies of their own devising. Indira had covertly helped promote the rise of Sikh extremism in Punjab in an effort to thwart a more moderate rival party in the troubled northwest state. In his turn, Rajiv had gone along for a while with arming the Tamil Tigers and furnishing them with sanctuary and training camps in southern India. But he had abandoned that effort by mid-1987, and the image that survives him is mostly favorable.

Rajiv's greatest liability—the fact that he was not by nature a politician—was also his virtue. "Those who talked to Rajiv Gandhi noted the absence of hubub that is so typical of our political leaders," wrote Datta-Ray. Yet many thoughtful Indians and foreign leaders are not at all ready to write off the world's largest democracy. "Indian democracy has weathered such blows before and can do so again," said a senior British diplomat. Economist John Kenneth Galbraith, U.S. ambassador to New Delhi during the Kennedy Administration, called the system "imperfect but secure." Said Galbraith: "The idea that the people of India would surrender their sovereignty to any form of dictatorship is not true. And I would feel sorry for anyone who tried to impose it on them."

What may be the end of the line for the Nehrus and Gandhis may also rid India of the cult of personality and the stranglehold of centralized power. When Indira was elevated to the Congress presidency in 1959, Nehru was the first to abhor the prospect of a dynasty. He later told an American interviewer, "I am not capable of ruling from the grave. How terrible it would be if I, after all I have said about the processes of democratic government, were to attempt to handpick a successor. The best I can do for India is to help our people as a whole generate new leadership as it may be needed." A full generation later, that time of need has come.

—Reported by Edward W. Desmond and Anita Pratap/New Delhi and G.C. Shekhar/Sriperumbudur

The Next Generation

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was reminiscing about her father, Jawaharlal Nehru, some years ago. "People say he was like the banyan tree: nothing and nobody grew in his shadow," she mused. "They are wrong. He was like the sun, and let everything and everybody grow—even the weeds, let us be honest." It was vintage Indira, who would have denied there was a Nehru dynasty even as she came to symbolize it.

Leadership has been the Gandhi family's birthright. In a land accustomed to rajas, maharajas, kings and emperors, a republican ruling family was consistent with India's long history. It lent legitimacy to the government of a country that until independence in 1947 had been in much a state of mind as a nation-state.

No wonder Congress elders turned immediately to Sonia Gandhi, 44, as party leader. But Sonia is a widow with no desire for power. She never wanted her husband Rajiv to enter politics, much less succeed his mother. It was Sonia who cradled Indira's head as she lay dying from assassins' bullets, and friends note that after the shooting in 1984, she became obsessed with the safety of her husband and children. Behind the dark glasses she wore during public appearances, her eyes constantly searched crowds for a possible assassin. Says a friend: "What she was most afraid of in the world was losing Rajiv."

Sonia's aloofness has helped make her a formidable and somewhat unfathomable figure. She assiduously tended Rajiv's constituency in Amethi, Uttar Pradesh

state, but apparently disliked politics. Though a naturalized Indian citizen since 1983, she is Indian by birth, and almost certainly would have faced strong opposition on that ground alone.

One of three daughters born to building contractor Stefano Maino and his wife Paola in Lusiana, a small town in Italy's Veneto region, Sonia was sent to Cambridge in the early '60s to study English. There she met Rajiv, who was studying mechanical engineering at Trinity College. Although both families initially opposed their marriage, the young Italian wholeheartedly adopted India, learning fluent Hindi and Indian cooking.

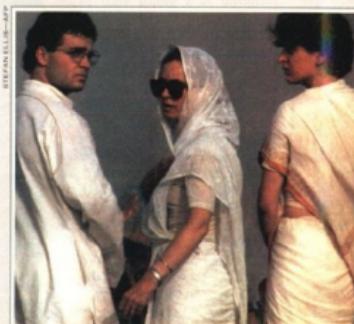
While Sonia refuses to step into the limelight, what about the rest of the family? The nearest heirs are her two children. Like his father at the same age, Rahul, 20, a Harvard undergraduate, shows no interest in politics, preferring photography and target shooting. He is the quieter, more introverted of the two children.

But her daughter Priyanka, 19, a student at the College of Jesus and Mary in New Delhi, shows flashes of her grandmother's fabled toughness and composure. She has displayed a flair for politics, and her strength during her father's funeral prompted a party worker to say, "Give her time, and she is definitely Prime Minister material."

Beyond Rajiv's immediate family, there are other Gandhis and Nehrus interested in taking up the family business. Maneka Gandhi, 34, widow of Rajiv's younger brother Sanjay, is highly ambitious and politically astute, currently holding office as Minister of Environment. But she quarreled with the family when Indira cut her out of the succession after Sanjay's death, and joined the opposition. The only other possible choice is Arun Nehru, 47, a cousin of Rajiv's and a former corporate executive who once was Minister of Internal Security in Rajiv's Cabinet. But the two fell out in 1986, and Arun does not seem to have either the political support or popular appeal needed to make a successful bid for power.

—By William Stewart.

Reported by Anita Pratap/New Delhi



Lonely survivors: Rahul, Sonia, Priyanka at the funeral

World

SOVIET UNION

Who's That Man With the Tin Cup?

It's Mikhail Gorbachev, accomplished master of the delicate balancing act, who is making his biggest play yet for Western aid to help bail out his embattled perestroika

By GEORGE J. CHURCH

Integrating back into the world is a priority issue for the U.S.S.R. Today it is also a more pressing issue, due to the economic straits of this country.

—Soviet economist Grigori Yavlinsky

Yavlinsky, who advises both Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin, sounded what is rapidly becoming the predominant theme of Soviet policy. The nation needs enormous sums of Western aid to overhaul its collapsing economy. But it has no chance if it maintains a society largely walled off from the outside world. So Moscow is maneuvering to open the country to foreign influence in ways that might make not only Lenin and Stalin but also some of the czars spin in their graves.

For openers, Gorbachev is in effect applying for membership in that exclusive capitalist club, the G-7 (the Group of Seven major industrial and financial powers—the U.S., Canada, Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Japan). After dropping some heavy hints, the Soviet President last week came right out and asked for an invitation to the G-7 summit meeting to be held in London in July. There he could make his pitch in person to the leaders of the countries that could supply the grants, loans and credits he seeks and try to reassure them that the money would be put to good use rather than disappearing into the maw of the chaotic Soviet economy.

The Soviet President began by indirectly asking the West to help him plan an economic makeover. He gave his blessing to a mission by Yavlinsky to seek the advice of government and private economists from the capitalist world in drafting a coordinated program of foreign aid and internal So-

viet reforms. The idea is to use the aid to finance the creation of a true market system in the U.S.S.R., which would inevitably open the economy to the influence of foreign governments and such aid-granting and monitoring institutions as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Yavlinsky spent last week meeting with academics at Harvard. This week he will join Yevgeni Primakov, one of Gorbachev's top troubleshooters, in Washington for talks with government experts.

Most dramatic of all, the Supreme Soviet, the nation's parliament, enacted a law granting all citizens—as of Jan. 1, 1993—the right to travel freely overseas and even to leave the country for good and settle abroad. The statute is a major step in converting the U.S.S.R. from a dictatorship governed by its leaders' whims to what reformers call a law-based society. But at least the timing of passage was undoubtedly affected by the government's hunger for American dollars. Only a week earlier, the measure seemed to be sidetracked, probably for many months. But it was revived with Gorbachev's strong support after telephone conversations between the Soviet leader and George Bush. Free emigration is a precondition for a lowering of very high U.S. tariffs on Soviet goods and for the granting of Export-Import Bank credits to finance the purchase of American products.

The Soviet Union previously had not had an emigration, or even an anti-emigration, law. Policy was set by a series of decrees, some secret; in practice the government arbitrarily opened the gates or slammed them shut as it pleased. Jewish emigration, for example, has ranged from a low of fewer than 1,000 in 1986 to a high of 200,000 in 1990. Most of the time the policy was extremely restrictive, in line with a tradition of suspicion and fear of the outside world that goes back to czarist times and was carried to terrifying heights by Joseph Stalin. During his reign, not

a few Soviet citizens were imprisoned or even shot because of unauthorized contacts with foreigners.

Traces of that attitude linger. During the parliamentary debate, Deputy Leonid Sukhov, a taxi driver from the Ukraine,

HAVE PASSPORT, WILL TRAVEL

After the Supreme Soviet passed a law last week granting all citizens the right to live and travel abroad, TIME conducted an informal survey on the streets of Moscow. The reactions:



Igor Spektor, civil engineer:



Yevgeni Shibayev, plastic surgeon:

"We're leaving this country for good because of the growing tide of anti-Semitism. Nobody is even trying to stop it. Our President keeps silent. If only he had spoken, it would have kept many people from leaving. I have two children, and there is no hope, no light at the end of the tunnel. The law won't change anything for me. Maybe it could have changed my mind if they had passed it a few years ago. Then I could have gone and come back at will, but now it does not make any difference."

"I am happy that at last they will permit me to do something I was always entitled to do. I don't wish to leave this country for good—so far. I have everything going for me here: my job, my family, my friends. They pay me lousy wages, that's true, but now there are ways to work hard and make good money, and I am eager to try them. But I do want to be able to travel to any place on our common earth as I wish. I want to be able to go to Nice and drink my money away there."

warned that free movement of citizens in and out would open the Soviet borders to AIDS. Officers of the KGB border guards mounted an exhibit of guns and drugs seized by customs agents as a warning of what could be expected if the frontiers are opened. Nonetheless, the law stoutly declares that "each citizen of the U.S.S.R.

has the right to exit and enter the Soviet Union" and that this right "cannot be arbitrarily denied." Full implementation was put off supposedly to give the government time to set up the customs, transportation and passport-issuing machinery necessary to deal with the many more people leaving. But Soviet citizens joining relatives abroad or accepting job offers from foreign employers are allowed to leave at once.

Though Gorbachev has reportedly expressed private worry about a brain drain that would leave too few educated citizens at home to build *perestroika*, emigration seems unlikely to take any great leap. Fyodor Burlatsky, a prime parliamentary advocate of the new law, estimates that 1.5 million people will leave for good during the first three years that the law is fully effective, not a major annual increase over the 450,000 expected to emigrate this year alone. Other estimates are that 2 million or more may leave quickly after the law takes full effect, but once they are gone, the outflow will dwindle. One reason is that the U.S. and European nations are unlikely to admit many more immigrants from the U.S.S.R. than they do now. Also, foreign tourism costs more money than most Soviet citizens can spare. But the knowledge that citizens can leave if they wish and the insights into other ways of living and thinking brought back by people who do travel overseas are likely to have major effects on Soviet psychology.

Under U.S. law, Bush may now authorize tariff and credit concessions. The White House has been non-committal, on that subject and on the possibility of Gorbachev's attending the G-7 summit. Among the other G-7 members, Germany is strongly in favor of inviting Gorbachev and of doing anything else that might prop up the Kremlin leader; it trusts Gorbachev far more than any potential successor to carry through the barely begun pullout of 380,000 Soviet troops from what used to be East Germany. But the summit hosts in Britain are divided. Prime Minister John Major has spoken in favor of inviting Gorbachev,

but Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd is known to be strongly opposed.

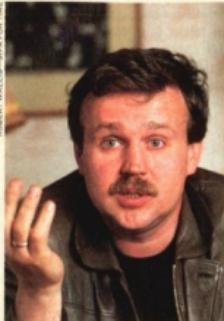
One reason for hesitancy is that the Western powers are a long way from agreeing on an answer to Gorbachev's pleas for aid. Though Gorbachev has not mentioned a precise sum (he did say last week that if the West could spend \$100 billion on the Persian Gulf war, substantial funds should be found to save *perestroika*), aid on a scale large enough to be effective would be very expensive: \$30 billion over five years is an often mentioned figure. The Western nations are by no means sure they either can or should spare the money. "Why give pennies to a man with a hole in his pocket?" asks a top British official. The return to favor of Yavlinsky, an author of last year's drastic 500-day reform plan, is encouraging, but the memory of how abruptly Gorbachev reversed himself and spurned that plan after first accepting it is sobering.

The U.S., in addition, would like to see how many political concessions it can squeeze out of Moscow—on subjects ranging from help in settling the Cambodian civil war to final agreement on arms-control treaties—before coming up with an aid package. Washington also is talking in effect of trying to help Gorbachev sell economic overhaul by expanding contacts with Soviet hard-liners and trying to persuade them not to see reform as a threat.

Gorbachev dispatched Soviet Chief of Staff Mikhail Moiseyev to Washington last week to try to iron out the last issues blocking ratification of the treaty reducing non-nuclear forces in Europe that was signed last fall. Some progress was made, but at week's end there was still no agreement. The U.S. is determined not to let the Soviets cheat by failing to make some troop withdrawals that Washington believes the treaty demands. But the numbers involved are so small that U.S. negotiators cannot believe a desire to keep those forces in place is the real Soviet motive for recalcitrance. They think the Soviet military is stalling in order to test its influence with the Gorbachev government. U.S. officials thought Moiseyev was negotiating as much with Gorbachev as with them.

Dangling aid before Moscow as an inducement to reform can work: witness the passage of the emigration bill. But it can also backfire if the Kremlin gets the idea that each concession is answered only by a demand for more concessions. At some point the Western powers need to work out a specific position: we offer so-and-so many dollars in return for this or that reform. Given Gorbachev's penchant for zig-zags between the authoritarian hard-liners who seemed to be in ascendancy as recently as mid-April and the democratic reformers who again are gaining strength now, that agreement ought to come sooner rather than later. —Reported by John Kahan and Yuri Zaravich/Moscow and Christopher Ogden/Washington

ROBERT WALLACE/DOUG A. COOK/TIME



**Alexander Andreyev,
documentary
film director:**

"Before *perestroika*, we had the West painted only in black. After *perestroika*, the West was painted only in rosy colors. Let my fellow citizens see the real picture. It will teach them not to expect any paradise. But travel takes money. The main thing is to know you have the freedom to do it. I will never want to leave for good. It is not the intelligentsia who will run away; it's the proletariat. Those who work with their heads are reluctant to go. Those who work with their hands are more eager."



**Marina
Briskina,
book
editor:**

"It's great to think I will be able to go where I want to, not where they let me, and to do business where I choose and with whom I choose. I have my doubts, though. To travel, people need real money, and they cannot make it. This law may become just another piece of sausage, hung before people's noses: you can see it but can't reach it. I don't think I will leave for good. The more I travel, the more I realize that the rest of the world doesn't really want us. Still, I think our children should travel. Children are more receptive. If they travel to the free world, they will bring more freedom home. It will help to cleanse slavery out of our souls."

SOUTH KOREA

The Tale Behind a Suicide

Chun Se Yong was only 19 years old when he set himself afire as a protest against his nation's government

By RICHARD HORNICK SEOUL

On May 1, Chun Se Yong sounded like the last person who would set himself on fire as a political protest. Two university students had just immolated themselves to protest the beating to death of a student demonstrator by police on April 26, but Chun, a 19-year-old sophomore at Kyungwon University, near Seoul, questioned the wisdom of adding to the growing list of martyrs, or *yolsa* (Korean for honorable man of justice). "We need more dedicated fighters, not more *yolsa*," the left-wing activist told colleagues at the campus newspaper.

But something changed for Chun in the next 48 hours. About 3 p.m. on May 3, he walked out on a balcony near the university's main entrance, doused himself with paint thinner, ignited himself with a cigarette lighter, and then plunged 15 ft. to the pavement below. Alive, but with burns covering 95% of his body, Chun was rushed to the hospital. Seven hours later, he died.

Since Chun's self-immolation, five more protesters have turned themselves into human versions of the Molotov cocktails students throw with alarming regularity during South Korea's annual spring demonstration season. Although the suicides have failed to produce the massive demonstrations that pushed the previous regime from power in 1987, President Roh Tae Woo fired his hard-line Prime Minister last week and promised other reforms, hoping to end this season's violence. But street clashes continued, killing one more person at week's end.

With the exception of one or two unbalanced victims, the suicides have had the same motive: to galvanize demonstrators and rouse the general public to demand an end to what the students say are the injustices of the government of President Roh Tae Woo and of the corporate conglomerates that dominate the economy. The young political activists see themselves as the conscience of their nation. Enough reforms have occurred in the past four years to mollify much of the populace. That is the case with most students as well, and their apathy has frustrated radical activists, who have now turned to more desperate inspiration.

But just why Chun Se Yong changed his mind about suicide is a mystery to those who knew him. Friends and colleagues describe him as an intense, articulate young man, well-versed in the rhetoric of his cause. Raised by his grandmother after his

taxi-driver father and his mother divorced several years ago, Chun was sensitive to the social injustices he saw around him.

He was also susceptible to the ideological blandishments of the radical left when he entered the university. Korean high school students come from an intensive, hot-house education in which they are expected to memorize without question everything they are told. In college they often join informal study groups for camaraderie, but many of these are thinly



Outside Yonsei University: a young female victim who, like Chun Se Yong, immolated herself

disguised political indoctrination cliques dominated by older, left-wing students. Untrained in critical thought, the young students are easily turned into ardent converts.

Chun entered this political crucible eagerly. He drew cartoons dripping with political sarcasm for the school paper. One showed George Bush in military fatigues waving an American flag while marching over a field of skulls. With no money from home, he worked at odd jobs and slept in a succession of offices and friends' apartments. But his real vocation was activism: he was part of a 60-person "torch force" that led demonstrators into battle with police by throwing rocks and Molotov cocktails.

Yet the numbers in the rear ranks were dwindling. A friend remembers that Chun was upset when students at the junior college affiliated with his university refused to cancel their annual spring festival celebra-

tions after the suicides. The day he died, Chun surprised a confidant by asking, "Don't you think we would have more fighting activists if someone else killed himself by immolation?" Says Seoul National University sociology professor Han Wan Sang: "Self-immolation is an extreme form of the ignition effect—an attempt to ignite society. If after the first two suicides the masses had been ignited, Chun and the others would not have done it."

Chun left a note for fellow students: "Although there are many things remaining to be done, if you participate in fighting and shoulder my share of the responsibility, I will close my eyes peacefully." But in spite of his suicidal act, and the five since then, the fighting spirit of the students seems to be flagging. Three weeks after Chun's death, candles still burn at the

shrine erected to his memory, but students mill around, sipping sodas and talking about exams. On the steps below the spot where he died, fewer than 40 people turned up last week for a demonstration against American imperialism, which the left blames for all of Korea's ills.

The deaths have forced an embarrassed government to acknowledge the sincerity of some of the student's demands. The Cabinet shake-up and an offer of amnesty to a limited number of political prisoners are mainly cosmetic responses; yet even these modest measures will make it more difficult for the radicals to mobilize opposition to what they call a fascist regime. Since taking their own lives has not produced the desired results, Korea's students may turn to even more drastic tactics. "The disturbing question," says a Western diplomat, "is, What is the next step?" Chun Se Yong's friends are still wondering why he took his last one. ■

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Few Tears for The Tyrant

As Mengistu flees, Israel rescues the Falashas

At 11 a.m. last Tuesday, U.S. chargé d'affaires Robert Houdek was called to the office of Ethiopian Prime Minister Tesfaye Dinka in Addis Ababa. With tears in his eyes, Tesfaye announced that President Mengistu Haile Mariam had resigned and left the country. The Prime Minister then asked Houdek to arrange a cease-fire between government troops and rebel forces that were at that moment rolling toward the capital.

The Prime Minister was one of the few people to weep for Mengistu, whose brutal 14-year dictatorship—the last hard-line Marxist-Leninist regime in Africa—had turned his nation of 51 million people into a wasteland of famine and internecine fighting. In the streets, hundreds celebrated the tyrant's departure, cheering as workmen dismantled a huge bronze statue of Lenin in



Cheering the dictator's departure on top of a fallen idol

one of the capital's main squares. The Israeli government took advantage of the confusion to launch a massive airlift of some 14,000 Ethiopian Jews who had fearfully gathered near the Israeli embassy (10,000 had been rescued during a famine in 1984). Using giant C-130 transport planes and 747 jumbo jets, the Israeli military removed the Jews, known as Falashas, in just 33 hours. Israeli and American officials had been attempting to negotiate with Mengistu for the emigration of the Falashas for months.

decisively against him, for months the Ethiopian leader had resisted pressure to step down. Only after Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe sent a personal note offering asylum, and after the demoralized Ethiopian army began rapidly disintegrating, did Mengistu agree to depart. The unlamented dictator, whose ubiquitous portraits have already disappeared from most public places in Ethiopia, flew to Zimbabwe, where he had recently purchased a farm. ■

America Abroad

Strobe Talbott

What Good Friends Are For

The U.S. has "special relationships" with half a dozen or so countries. Near the top of the list are Israel and Japan. The U.S. was instrumental in the founding of the Jewish state in 1948, and almost 6 million American Jews could be automatically entitled to citizenship there. The case of Japan is more ambiguous but no less special. The U.S. used A-bombs to finish off a militaristic empire, then helped rebuild what has become an economic superpower.

Both relationships are strained these days. The Likud government's commitment to the de facto annexation of the occupied West Bank, hence to the open-ended subjugation of its Palestinian population, hinders the U.S.'s ongoing effort to broker a Middle East peace and jeopardizes Israel as a humane and democratic society.

Ties between Tokyo and Washington are frayed as a result of bad American habits, notably an addiction to debt, as well as predatory Japanese trade practices.

But if the U.S. is having trouble with both Israel and Japan, those two countries have had practically nothing to do with each other. Without ever admitting it was doing so, Japan has aided and abetted the Arabs in their 43-year-old economic boycott of Israel. The U.S., Canada and some countries in Western Europe have laws against companies' abiding by the boycott. The Japanese kept mumbling that they favored free trade, but that the "private sector" must make its own decisions on commercial grounds.

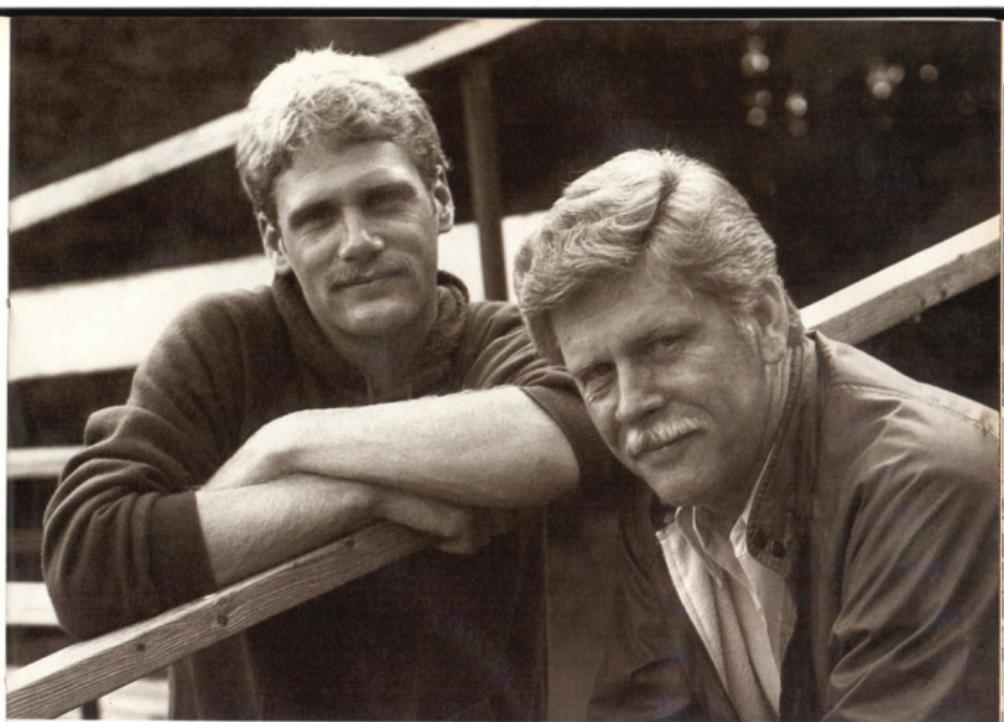
In fact, there is no such thing as a private sector in Japan. Either that or there is nothing but the private sector. For years Japan Inc. has had a one-dimensional foreign policy: what's good for Japanese exports is good for Japan. Since there were many times more customers for Toyota and Nippon Steel in the Arab and Islamic worlds than in Israel, Japan abided by the boycott.

That's begun to change. In April, Toyota announced it would sell cars directly to Israel. Nissan and Mazda are expected to follow. For the first time, Japan is adding a representative of the powerful Ministry of International Trade and Industry to the staff of its embassy in Israel. El Al is being allowed to open service between Tel Aviv and Tokyo (via Moscow).

Israeli diplomats consider these moves to be modest and tentative but welcome nonetheless. American Jewish leaders and members of Congress have been lobbying hard for the shift. So, much more quietly, have some younger civil servants inside several Japanese ministries. They see their country's compliance with the boycott as symptomatic of the parochialism and selfishness that have until now marked Japan's definition of its role in the world.

The Reagan and Bush administrations have helped too. Former Secretary of State George Shultz raised the issue repeatedly. James Baker and most of his senior deputies have done the same. During a meeting in California in April, President George Bush told Prime Minister Toshiaki Kaifu that the end of the gulf war "might be an opportunity for Japan to have closer relations with Israel." Kaifu agreed, adding that the Arab boycott was "undesirable." Vice President Dan Quayle, who met with Kaifu in Tokyo last week, pressed for more steps in the right direction.

This story, while unfinished, already has a moral: the Japanese need *gai-atsu*, or outside pressure, almost as much as they resent it. By leaning hard on its friends in Tokyo, the U.S. is doing a favor for Japan as well as Israel. But, then, what else are special relationships for? ■



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World Notes

GERMANY

No Exit for Ex-Leaders

From 1961, when the Berlin Wall went up, until it tumbled down in November 1989, more than 190 East Germans were killed trying to escape. When Heinz Kessler, former Defense Minister of the now defunct communist regime, planned to flee to the Soviet Union last week, however, he was merely arrested, along with former Prime Minister Willi Stoph and two other ex-leaders, Fritz Strelitz and Hans Albrecht.

The contrast was ironic. As

members of East Germany's National Defense Council, its highest security agency, the four had approved a 1974 order requiring guards to shoot to kill anyone crossing the border to the West. After months of investigation, Bonn found all four men jointly responsible for the deadly order and charged them with inciting manslaughter.

The arrests came after police received a tip that Kessler was planning to escape aboard a Soviet military aircraft. German authorities, under pressure to bring former Communists leaders to justice, were embarrassed last March when Erich Honecker, the former party chief, was spirited away to Moscow by the Soviets, ostensibly for health reasons. ■



Willi Stoph



On the banned list: the spears that Zulus claim a cultural right to carry

SOUTH AFRICA

Arms Control, Zulu-Style

The sight of a gang of Zulus brandishing traditional weapons is enough to instill terror in the black townships around Johannesburg, where many residents belong to other tribal groups. Local newspapers recently published a photo that shows why. The frame captured a black man in Soweto clasping a spear and plunging it into the back of another black man, who was desperately trying to flee.

But Zulu leaders have long maintained that carrying spears is a cultural right. Last week, in a bid to halt political violence, President F.W. de Klerk secured an arms-control agreement with Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini. Henceforth, the

spare will be added to the government's list of dangerous instruments that are banned in areas where unrest occurs.

Violence in the black townships is partly a struggle for power between the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress. Thus outlawing weapons will not in itself halt the killing. The ANC, says De Klerk's move falls far short of meeting several demands to end the black vs. black bloodshed that must be satisfied before the organization ends its boycott of negotiations on a new political system. But the ANC is not exactly doing all it can to promote a climate of peace. As it was criticizing De Klerk last week, the ANC refused to attend a conference on violence held in Pretoria. Reason: it preferred that a church group, rather than De Klerk, sponsor such a gathering. ■

ANGOLA

Military Leave

The effort to end Angola's 16-year-old civil war quickened last week when Cuba removed its remaining troops, five weeks ahead of a June 30 deadline for a complete withdrawal. The evacuation of nearly 2,000 Cuban soldiers added a grace note to this week's scheduled signing in Lisbon of a peace treaty between Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos and Jonas Savimbi, leader of the U.S.-backed rebel group UNITA. The pact paves the way for the establishment of a multiparty democracy in the formerly Marxist state and elections in 1992.

U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and Soviet Foreign Minister Alexander Bessmertnykh are expected to be on hand to congratulate Dos Santos and Savimbi—as well they might. Since Angola won independence from Portugal in 1975, Moscow has spent as much as \$1 billion a year to prop up the regime, while the U.S. has contributed up to \$60 million annually to the rebels. ■



Cuban soldiers: going home

ROMANIA

No Longer For Sale

Few black markets are as shady as international baby trafficking. Last week, in an attempt to quell a burgeoning underground trade in children, Romania announced a temporary halt to adoptions by foreigners until tighter rules are enacted.

Ever since the warehousing of 140,000 unwanted or sick children in squalid state or-

phanages was uncovered after the downfall of the Ceausescu regime in late 1989, Westerners have flocked to Romania to adopt thousands of abandoned babies. A growing number of unscrupulous prospective parents have reached beyond the orphanages, however, and scoured rural villages with the help of local "fixers," searching for children to buy from easily tempted poor farmers.

Romanian adoption authorities now want to implement a tougher law, expected to

be passed by parliament this week. The measure punishes baby selling with prison terms and requires that all foreign adoptions be approved by a special committee. Declared the Foreign Ministry: "The selling and buying of children has to stop."

American officials agree. Tightening its own screening procedures, the U.S. is currently holding up permission for more than 50 American families to bring home their adopted Romanian children. ■



Romanian orphans in an institute

INVESTMENTS

Is Your Pension Safe?

Most are sound. But that is no comfort to retirees who are finding that after a lifetime of hard work, the check is not in the mail.

By JANICE CASTRO

After 33 years with Blue Cross of California, Ray Finan thought his income was secure when he and his wife Lillian, a self-employed medical malpractice attorney, retired in 1984. He never knew that their financial security evaporated when, two years later, Blue Cross terminated its pension plan and instead bought annuities from Executive Life Insurance Co. The checks kept coming all the same. But by the time Ray Finan died in 1988, Executive Life was careening headlong toward financial disaster.

This April, California insurance commissioner John Garamendi seized the \$10.1 billion insurer as it teetered on the edge of insolvency. Two weeks ago, he told a crowd of worried pensioners they are almost certain to lose a portion of their savings. Along with 84,000 other Executive Life annuity holders in 46 states, Lillian Finan, 69 and now living month to month, worries whether she will lose her only steady income. "What am I going to do?" she wonders. "Is somebody going to give me a job? And why should I have to do that after my husband and I worked so hard for all of those years?"

The collapse of Executive Life is only the most spectacular blow currently shaking the security of the American pension system. Last week Dallas-based LTV (1990 sales: \$6.1 billion) announced plans to sell off its large aerospace-and-defense company, which helps make Stealth bombers and Boeing jets, to raise enough cash to fund the pensions of its 70,000 retired steelworkers. The firm has been mired in bankruptcy proceedings since 1986, primarily because of those obligations. In Los Angeles, First Capital Holdings, an insurance holding company whose failing California operating division was seized two weeks ago by insurance officials, sought Chapter 11 protection, sending chills up the backs of 62,000 annuity holders in 49 states. Amid a flurry

of lawsuits and anguished questions across the U.S., a House subcommittee has begun to look at how the failure of insurance companies endangers pensions.

What is going on here? For millions of retirees, a pension, along with the requisite gold watch, is a tacit reward for a lifetime of company loyalty, a bedrock foundation against poverty in old age. Suddenly, though, employees and retirees of some of America's largest corporations fear that the pensions they were counting on may not be there when they need them. If Executive Life's failure is not frightening enough for Americans, some 50 large companies, including LTV, Chrysler, Bethlehem Steel and Uniroyal Goodrich, have seriously underfunded their pension plans and jeopardized the security of their own retirees.

At least those plans are covered by federal insurance. But of the 10 million retired U.S. workers, the General Accounting Office has estimated that 3 million to 4 million rely on income from annuity contracts instead of getting their pension checks directly from their companies. Having had no say in their companies' decisions to replace their pensions with insurance-company annuities, these retirees are learning that their former employers shucked all legal responsibility for continued payments to them in the process. Worse, the same switch cut them off from the government's Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation (PBGC). Instead, annuity holders are covered by a hodgepodge of state insurance regulations that in some cases offer no protection at all for the \$50 billion worth of insurance annuities that cover retirees and workers.

The financial threat now looming over so many elderly Americans had its roots largely in the tumultuous restructuring that jolted corporate America during the 1980s. In many cases corporations scrambling for cash shut down their pension plans and pocketed the so-called excess funds. Some clearly acted irresponsibly, imperiling the future security of aging members of the corporate family for quick financial gain. Oth-



ers terminated the plans as a defensive measure against hostile takeovers, knowing that the buyout buzzards circling overhead saw the cash from their well-stocked pensioners' funds as a tempting target and were eager to pick them clean.

Even as some employers were buying annuities to replace their pension plans, the insurance industry was running into financial hardship. Since 1975 no fewer than 170 insurance companies have gone under, 40% of them during the past two years alone. The vast majority of these failed companies were small and regional, and no retirees suffered losses. One reason: other insurers stepped in voluntarily to pick up the pieces, ensuring continued payments to annuity owners.

But the industry's tidy record was torn to shreds with the explosion of Executive Life in the largest insurance-company failure in U.S. history. Dismissing the steady-as-she-goes financial procedures of most insurers, Executive Life had blazed a fast track to spectacular growth, grabbing market share by offering higher payouts on annuities and charging lower fees than most of its competitors. To meet its growing obligations, the insurer plunged headlong into the high-yield bond market controlled by Drexel Burnham's Michael Milken and puffed up its \$10.1 billion asset base with \$6.4 billion in risky junk bonds. Once the junk-bond market fizzled in 1989, First Ex-



Worried annuity holders demanded answers last week from California insurance officials

deals, not done according to fiduciary standards. These guys should be thrown in jail. Now that I am almost 72, I've got to worry about when my next pension check is coming, and from where it is coming. It's outrageous."

Some 62,000 First Capital annuity holders in 49 states know exactly what he means. Pensioners whose retirement savings are locked in the wreckage must now wait to see what they will be able to recover. Like Executive Life, First Capital invested recklessly in risky high-yield bonds: 46% of its assets are junk.

Tragic as the situation gripping holders of Executive Life and First Capital annuities may be, the U.S. pension system is largely stable. More than \$1 trillion in assets currently backs roughly \$900 billion in pension liabilities. Those assets are supported in turn by the financial strength of the corporations funding the plans.

Since 1974 the Department of Labor has exercised oversight authority, seeking to ensure that plans are operated in the best interests of their participants. When companies are unable to pay pension benefits, the PBGC steps in to meet the obligations, guaranteeing payment of up to \$2,250 per month to eligible retirees.

But at present the agency is faced with the daunting prospect of several dozen large plans—representing 3 million active and retired workers—that are underfunded to the tune of \$30 billion. Worst of all is a class of financially weak corporate behemoths, such as LTV and Chrysler, whose pension plans are severely short of cash. Unless their sales and profits improve, some of these large funds could collapse.

ecutive Corp., Executive Life's holding company, began to sustain huge losses. California insurance officials are now investigating other large insurers to determine whether they also are too heavily invested in junk bonds.

During its heyday, Executive Life swam with the sharks. When raider Charles Hurwitz took over San Francisco-based Pacific Lumber in 1986 with the help of \$900 million in Drexel junk bonds, for example, First Executive Corporation, bought more than one-third of those bonds. Once in charge, Hurwitz terminated the pension plan and grabbed the \$55 million worth of surplus pension funds to pay down part of his buyout debt. He then bought \$38 million worth of Executive Life annuities to cover 2,500 people, thus shedding his obligations and saving himself the cost of the premiums for the federal pension insurance. Had he picked another insurer, of course, those annuities might have been sound. Instead, Pacific Lumber's retirees lost their federal pension insurance and in exchange got annuities from an insurer barreling toward collapse.

Similarly, when corporate raider Ronald Perleman seized Revlon in 1985, First Executive helped fi-

nance the \$2.7 billion takeover, buying \$370 million worth of Drexel's junk bonds. Perleman shut down Revlon's pension plan and skimmed off at least \$50 million in "excess funding." He then rolled existing pension obligations into Executive Life annuities. Says Eli Schefer, a retired Revlon engineer in Sands Point, N.Y.: "Those were cozy

10 RISKY PENSIONS

The following appear on the PBGC's list of the 50 companies with the most underfunded pension plans. TIME's selection also takes into account the underlying financial condition of the companies.

LTV
Chrysler
Bethlehem Steel
Pan Am World Airlines
Uniroyal Goodrich Tire
Western Union
Sharon Steel
CF&I Steel
Trans World Airlines
Lone Star Technologies

UNFUNDED LIABILITY in millions of dollars	PERCENTAGE OF PENSION THAT IS FUNDED (funding ratio)
\$2,895	18.4%
2,597	66.2
1,233	72.7
621	50.3
453	44.7
284	51.6
178	32.7
142	33.9
132	89.0
37	37.9

Source: PBGC

Business

Already running a deficit of \$1.8 billion, the PBGC estimates its deficit could grow to \$8 billion by the end of this decade.

Maybe more. Testifying before Congress last week, California's Garamendi pleaded for aid for the victims of Executive Life's collapse. Garamendi contended that the PBGC bears some responsibility for those annuity payments, since it supervised the termination of pension plans in which federally guaranteed benefits were replaced by insurance annuities. Said he: "Doubtless there are some villains in this piece. Venal businessmen, negligent regulators, careless rating companies, crafty accountants and lawyers, greedy pension-plan sponsors are all candidates, and if punishment is due, it should be meted out. But that's not going to solve the giant hu-

man problem we face. None of the bad guys has the resources to make thousands of pensioners whole."

Who should bear the responsibility? The Department of Labor is not willing. The agency argues that it does not regulate insurance companies and points to the industry-rating companies that continued to give Executive Life very high marks throughout the period when the pension plans were being converted to its annuities. Meanwhile, in Oakland a group of Executive Life's annuity holders are suing the insurer, the employer that converted their pensions to those annuities and the California Department of Insurance for allowing it.

To protect retirement savings in the future, new Labor Secretary Lynn Martin would like to extend federal pension coverage to 42 million American workers who currently have none. In addition, she intends to protect against corporate pension abuses by forcing employers to fund the plans adequately.

Tighter regulation of pension plans is sorely needed. The U.S. cannot afford another massive bailout program. In addition, as the population ages, U.S. workers will face a growing burden of responsibility to care for the aged. Those hard-earned pensions represent more than precious protection for elderly Americans: they are also assets that the U.S. cannot afford to squander.

—Reported by Gisela Bolte/
Washington and Dan Cray/Los Angeles

OTHER PLACES TO INVEST YOUR SAVINGS

Frightened by the savings and loan fiasco, junk-bond scams and problems at some commercial banks and insurance companies, millions of Americans are wondering just where their money is secure. "Safer" options exist, but in general, the bigger the reward, the bigger the risk.

NEST EGG

Bank Accounts

CONDITIONS

Among the safest havens, Americans have deposited \$3.5 trillion in savings accounts. Nearly all are federally insured up to \$100,000 per account. Yields, though, are lower than for most other investments.

WORDS TO THE WISE

Best strategy for big savers: divide your deposits among money-center banks, viewed by federal regulators as too big to fail. In recent debacles, such accounts have been effectively insured, when they held more than \$100,000.

Credit Unions

62 million Americans have \$209 billion on deposit. Through the National Credit Union Share Insurance Fund, 90% of these 14,000 institutions cover account balances up to \$100,000.

One-tenth of all credit unions are privately insured. Some, in Idaho and New Hampshire, are not insured at all. Better find out if your deposits are adequately protected. But in general, their track record is solid.

Money-Market Funds

Savers have deposited \$461 billion in 20 million money-market accounts. Those in commercial banks and member S&Ls are federally insured up to \$100,000.

High-yielding commercial paper accounts for as much as 89% of the investments in top funds, but it carries greater risk. Check your fund: safest bets include S&P A-1 and Moody's P-1 securities.

Municipal Bond Funds

Investors in bond funds own \$216 billion worth of municipals, most of them tax free and some insured. Long valued as conservative tax shelters.

Some municipals are losing propositions. While yields combined with tax benefits give them a gloss, they can be tarnished by the declining fortunes of the cities they finance. One possible danger zone: municipal junk-bond funds.

Mutual Funds

Shareholders own \$287 billion worth of equity mutual funds. Federal backing is limited to \$500,000, however, and the funds' value rises and falls with the performance of the individual stocks and bonds they own.

Find out what your fund owns and see how it performs relative to others. Check to see if yours includes the new multimarket trusts, which use sophisticated hedging strategies to reach for high yields in the volatile foreign-exchange market.

Treasury Bills

Backed by the "full faith and credit of the U.S. government," T-bills, at \$10,000 and up, are one of the safest investments for those who can afford them. The yield on a 6-month bill is now about 5.6%.

Since investments are locked in at fixed rates from 3 to 6 months, T-bills are a little too safe for some tastes. In exchange for peace of mind, investors must wave goodbye to passing opportunities.

RETAILING

Wet Seals and Whale Songs

Despite the recession in retailing, a market niche is where you make it

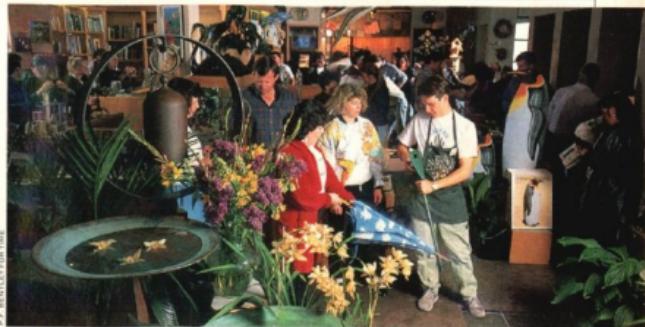
By RICHARD BEHAR

With the recession hanging on like a pall, many of the nation's big retail outlets are beginning to resemble mausoleums. Merchandise sales are dismally flat this year. Still, not every store is an echo chamber. A few novel retailing ideas have captured the attention of otherwise moribund buyers. The success of some may signal that shopping preferences and rituals are changing, while others may be nothing more than passing fads. As the great philosopher Confucius—yes, Confucius!—once said, "To open a shop is easy; to keep it open is an art." Here are three works of modern retailing art that are bucking the trend:

THE WET SEAL Americans bore easily, and few know this better than Ken Chilvers, president of the Wet Seal. This hip California-based chain of 97 clothing stores has branched into sun-filled states such as Hawaii, Arizona and Florida. Revenues, \$107 million last year, have climbed 972% since 1985, when the 17-store Seal was awash in debt. Last year it went public with a \$37 million stock offering.

The Seal's secret: trendy merchandise is constantly turned over, while employees are handed weekly bonuses to help push it out the door. The chain's concept is "multigenerational," which in plain Valley speak means that gum-snapping, Walkman-toting ingenues and their miniskirted moms can sport the same fashions, from flowered denim shorts to psychedelic bikinis. "We don't just ask our customers what they want," points out Chilvers. "We spend a tremendous amount of time in the malls, in our competitors' stores. I hang around and watch what they buy, what they don't buy."

Wet Seal stores are large and dramatic (3,900 sq. ft. on average), and the merchandise is displayed all the way up to the ceiling on high-tech impressionistic wire mannequins bathed in track lighting. Tops, pants, shorts and jackets are often clustered in the same spot for customers who can't match clothes on their own. Many stores also boast a 25-screen video wall from which computer-controlled rock videos play perpetually. By using computers, boasts marketing director Lesly Martin,



Habits for the have-it-alls. Clockwise from top: the eco-packaged Nature Co. in Berkeley; a security-laden Safety Zone outlet in North Miami Beach; tightly wrapped teens pose at the Wet Seal in Sherman Oaks, Calif.

"our buyers were actually able to track the day neon beachwear died." Radical!

THE NATURE CO. This is the neo-naturalist's answer to wet seals. No rock videos here, though. Enter these stores and you're more likely to hear the babbling of a brook or the haunting song of a whale, sniff the fragrance of freshly brewed chamomile tea or gaze through dappled lighting meant to resemble sunlight in a forest. "People come in and say, 'Ahhh!'" says Anita Treash, the company's marketing director.

The Nature Co. is a prime example of "green-tailing," or riding the wave of the environmental movement. The eco-chain started life in 1973 as one small shop near the University of California, Berkeley, campus run by a pair of Peace Corps veterans. Today the Nature Co., owned by the CML Group of Acton, Mass., has 54 stores and is moving into Europe and Japan. Sales this year are expected to hit \$90 million, up 29% from 1990.

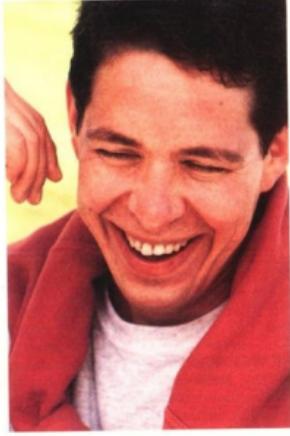
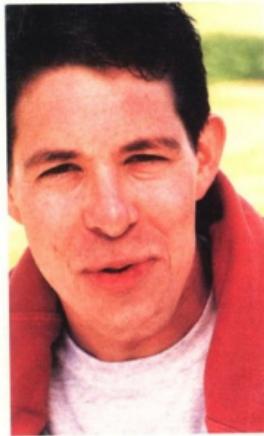
Each store peddles more than 10,000 items, running from \$3,000 telescopes to 45¢ mininaturals, as well as fossils, rubber animal noses, minerals, globes and even memberships to the nonprofit Nature Conservancy. Since killing animals is taboo, don't expect to find seashells or

mounted butterflies here. But skinning the beasts is apparently O.K., since some stores carry goods that contain leather.

SAFETY ZONE Urban naturalists already know that it's a jungle out there. Now there's a chain, the Safety Zone, to capitalize on their fears and paranoias. Armed with statistics such as "a burglary is committed every 12 seconds," and "every hour 350 disabling injuries occur in the home," the Zone hawks everything from a safe-within-a-safe (\$825) to a portable door-knob alarm (\$14.95) that can be used in hotel rooms. Also: safety belts for dogs, paper shredders, wristwatch cameras, portable 12-story fire-escape ladders, counterfeit-money testers, water test kits, telephone tap detectors, even an electronic voice changer for the phone (\$215).

"People are terribly relieved that there's a store like this," contends co-founder Melanie Franklin, who carries her own pocket-size alarm to scare off potential assailants. Launched in 1989, the Safety Zone already has eight stores, with most outlets on the East Coast. Ever conscious of security, though, Franklin refuses to divulge sales figures. One could safely surmise that they're healthy. — *Reported by Kathryn Jackson Fallon/New York and Robert W. Hollis/San Francisco*

Nick Joost—Austin, Texas



*My Daddy always had a saying—he said,
“Don’t ever be afraid to buy the best.
You’ll always be happy with it.” So I did.*

AT&T Long Distance.
All you need to reach out. 1800 222-0300.



Business Notes

DESIGN

This Chair Stacks Up

Stackable office chairs are easy to store but too often tough on the tush. Now comes the Perry chair, whose makers claim comfort need no longer be sacrificed for convenience. Created by sculptor, architect and designer Charles Perry, the chair has a single-piece steel frame that flexes backward and forward, while its polypropylene seat hangs from the lower backrest so the sitter's weight counterbalances the tilting pressure on the upper backrest. Result: a user-friendly seat that can be stacked 25 high.

The Perry chair is manufactured by Krueger International of Green Bay, Wis., which has been making seating for 50 years. Perry's design lists for around \$125, depending on the model and quantity. Krueger has sold 6,000 Perry chairs in the past eight months, proving that if you build a better stackable chair, companies will sit down and take notice. ■



Perry chair: compact comfort

EDUCATION

Adam Smith And Emily Post

Etiquette: the word evokes images of crinolines, cotillions and debutante balls. But at Chicago's DePaul University, good manners are essential weapons in the arsenal of the young job hunter. For four years now, undergraduate training has included a formal "etiquette dinner," where \$25 buys graduating seniors a multicourse meal at a ferociously fancy hotel—and a crash course in social grace from experts in the art of power schmoozing.

Advice runs from the obvi-



Micromanagement south of the border

PRODUCE

In Guatemala, Small Is Best

His family has farmed the same tiny plot of land in the Guatemalan highlands for generations, but Jacobo Mendez is the first to reap riches from a most unlikely source: "baby" zucchini. Far to the north, novelty-loving Americans are willing to pay seven times the price of the full-grown product for its fresh-

ly flowered miniature equivalent. Mendez doesn't care why—he's just glad they do. "I have my own house now, and we all eat better," says Mendez, 34, a Cakchiquel Indian descended from the Mayans, who ruled the region a thousand years ago.

Long familiar to French chefs, baby vegetables are a growing business across the Atlantic. Upscale restaurants are increasingly partial to downsize squash, zucchini, carrots, lettuce and green beans. The stateside craze means Guatemalan gold. A year-round growing season, rich volcanic soil and high-alti-

tude geography give the impoverished nation a significant edge in the U.S. winter-vegetable market, as indicated by last week's crowning achievement: a party for Britain's Queen Elizabeth in Houston, where Guatemalan baby squash and pineapples the size of softballs were on the menu. Yet back in Central America, no one would dream of actually eating the stuff, which is grown strictly for those loco gringos. ■

MARKETS

Buying Time

The peal of the 4 p.m. closing bell is one of the enduring symbols of Manhattan's New York Stock Exchange. Increasingly, it is also one of its most antiquated. Modern moneymaking is a 24-hour-a-day enterprise. Overseas exchanges, active when it is nighttime in New York City, are eating into the Big Board's business. More than 70 U.S. companies are traded on the Tokyo Stock Exchange, and close to 200 list their securities in London.

In a long anticipated response, Securities and Exchange Commission Chairman Richard Breeden last week announced the first step toward what may well become round-the-clock trading at the N.Y.S.E.—an experimental two-year extension of trading hours beyond the 4 o'clock close. Starting June 13, individual investors will be able to buy and sell stocks up to 5 p.m. at 4 p.m. prices, while holders of multiple-stock portfolios—typically institutions—will wheel and deal until 5:15. "The proposal before us may seem incremental," said Breeden, "but its effect will be felt around the world as a sign that U.S. markets are changing their habits to meet the needs of an increasingly globalized marketplace." ■



The bottom line is good manners at DePaul's "etiquette dinner"

COVER STORIES

When Is It RAPE?

He was a classmate, a co-worker or a date. He says she wanted it. She calls it a crime. A battle of the sexes rages over drawing the line.

By NANCY GIBBS

Be careful of strangers and hurry home, says a mother to her daughter, knowing that the world is a frightful place but not wishing to swaddle a child in fear. Girls grow up scarred by caution and enter adulthood eager to shake free of their parents' worst nightmares. They still know to be wary of strangers. They have no idea if they have more to fear from their friends.

Most women who get raped are raped by people they already know—like the boy in biology class, or the guy in the office down the hall, or their friend's brother. The familiarity is enough to make them let down their guard, sometimes even enough to make them wonder afterward whether they were “really raped.” What people think of as “real rape”—the assault by a monstrous stranger lurking in the shadows—accounts for only 1 out of 5 attacks.

So the phrase “acquaintance rape” was coined to describe the rest, all the cases of forced sex between people who already knew each other, however casually. But that was too clinical for headline writers, and so the popular term is the narrower

“date rape,” which suggests an ugly ending to a raucous night on the town.

These are not idle distinctions. Behind the search for labels is the central mythology about rape: that rapists are always strangers, and victims are women who ask for it. The mythology is hard to dispel because the crime is so rarely exposed. The experts guess—that's all they can do under the circumstances—that while 1 in 4 women will be raped in her lifetime, less than 10% will report the assault, and less than 5% of the rapists will go to jail.

When a story of the crime lodges in the headlines, the myths have a way of cluttering the search for the truth. The tale of Good Friday in Palm Beach landed in the news because it involved a Kennedy, but it may end up as a watershed case, because all the mysteries and passions surrounding date rape are here to be dissected. William Kennedy Smith met a woman at a bar, invited her back home late at night and apparently had sex with her on the lawn. She says it was rape, and the police believed her story enough to charge him with the crime. Perhaps it was the bruises on her leg; or the instincts of the investigators who found her, panicked and shaking, curled up in the fetal position on a couch;

or the lie-detector tests she passed.

On the other side, Smith has adamantly protested that he is a man falsely accused. His friends and family testify to his gentle nature and moral fiber and insist that he could not possibly have committed such a crime. Maybe the truth will come out in court—but regardless of its finale, the case has shoved the debate over date rape into the minds of average men and women. Plant the topic in a conversation, and chances are it will ripen into a bitter argument or a jittery sequence of pale jokes.

Women charge that date rape is the hidden crime; men complain it is hard to prevent a crime they can't define. Women say it isn't taken seriously; men say it is a concept invented by women who like to tease but not take the consequences. Women say the date-rape debate is the first time the nation has talked frankly about sex; men say it is women's unconscious reaction to the excesses of the sexual revolution. Meanwhile, men and women argue among themselves about the “gray area” that surrounds the whole murky arena of sexual relations, and there is no consensus in sight.

In court, on campus, in conversation, the issue turns on the elasticity of the word





**Less than 10%
of rape victims
will report the
assault, and
less than 5% of
the rapists will
go to jail**

Kristene, Amy and Karen
say they were raped by
fellow students at
Carleton College;
President Stephen Lewis
Jr. says he is sure the
women think they were
raped, but that the
college hearing board felt
otherwise. "We
understand they're
upset," he says, "but that
doesn't mean they're
right."

rape, one of the few words in the language with the power to summon a shared image of a horrible crime.

At one extreme are those who argue that for the word to retain its impact, it must be strictly defined as forced sexual intercourse: a gang of thugs jumping a jogger in Central Park, a psychopath preying on old women in a housing complex, a man with an ice pick in a side street. To stretch the definition of the word risks stripping away its power. In this view, if it happened on a date, it wasn't rape. A romantic encounter is a context in which sex *could* occur, and so what omniscient judge will decide whether there was genuine mutual consent?

Others are willing to concede that date rape sometimes occurs, that sometimes a man goes too far on a date without a woman's consent. But this infraction, they say, is not as ghastly a crime as street rape, and it should not be taken as seriously. The *New York Post*, alarmed by the Willy Smith case, wrote in a recent editorial, "If the sexual encounter, forced or not, has been preceded by a series of consensual activities—drinking, a trip to

the man's home, a walk on a deserted beach at 3 in the morning—the charge that's leveled against the alleged offender should, it seems to us, be different than the one filed against, say, the youths who raped and beat the jogger."

This attitude sparks rage among women who carry scars received at the hands of men they knew. It makes no difference if the victim shared a drink or a moonlit walk or even a passionate kiss, they protest, if the encounter ended with her being thrown to the ground and forcibly violated. Date rape is not about a misunderstanding, they say. It is not a communications problem. It is not about a woman's having regrets in the morning for a decision she made the night before. It is not about a "decision" at all. Rape is rape, and any form of forced sex—even between neighbors, co-workers, classmates and casual friends—is a crime.

A more extreme form of that view comes from activists who see rape as a metaphor, its definition swelling to cover any kind of oppression of women. Rape, seen in this light, can occur not only on a date but also in a marriage, not only by violent assault but also by psychological pressure. A Swarthmore College training pamphlet

once explained that acquaintance rape "spans a spectrum of incidents and behaviors, ranging from crimes legally defined as rape to verbal harassment and inappropriate innuendo."

No wonder, then, that the battles become so heated. When innuendo qualifies as rape, the definitions have become so slippery that the entire subject sinks into a political swamp. The only way to capture the hard reality is to tell the story.

A 32-year-old woman was on business in Tampa last year for the Florida supreme court. Stranded at the courthouse, she accepted a lift from a lawyer involved in her project. As they chatted on the ride home, she recalls, "he was saying all the right things, so I started to trust him." She agreed to have dinner, and afterward, at her hotel door, he convinced her to let him come in to talk. "I went through the whole thing about being old-fashioned," she says. "I was a virgin until I was 21. So I told him talk was all we were going to do."

But as they sat on the couch, she found herself falling asleep. "By now, I'm comfortable with him, and I put my head on his shoulder. He's not tried anything all evening, after all." Which is when the rape came. "I woke up to find him on top of me,

Katie Koestner, who just completed her freshman year at William and Mary, plays softball and clarinet, publishes poetry, and majors in chemistry and international relations. Last year she entered a local Miss America competition. Now she is an activist, giving speeches on campuses about the dangers of date rape, ever since a freshman romance went badly wrong.



forcing himself on me. I didn't scream or run. All I could think about was my business contacts and what if they saw me run out of my room screaming rape.

"I thought it was my fault. I felt so filthy, I washed myself over and over in hot water. Did he rape me?, I kept asking myself. I didn't consent. But who's gonna believe me? I had a man in my hotel room after midnight." More than a year later, she still can't tell the story without a visible struggle to maintain her composure. Police referred the case to the state attorney's office in Tampa, but without more evidence it decided not to prosecute. Although her attacker has admitted that he heard her say no, maintains the woman, "he says he didn't know that I meant no. He didn't feel he'd raped me, and he even wanted to see me again."

Her story is typical in many ways. The victim herself may not be sure right away that she has been raped, that she had said no and been physically forced into having sex anyway. And the rapist commonly hears but does not heed the protest. "A date rapist will follow through no matter what the woman wants because his agenda is to get laid," says Claire Walsh, a Florida-based consultant on sexual assaults. "First comes the dinner, then a dance, then a drink, then the coercion begins." Gentle persuasion gives way to physical intimidation, with alcohol as the ubiquitous lubricant. "When that fails, force is

used," she says. "Real men don't take no for an answer."

The Palm Beach case serves to remind women that if they go ahead and press charges, they can expect to go on trial along with their attacker, if not in a courtroom then in the court of public opinion. The New York Times caused an uproar on its own staff not only for publishing the victim's name but also for laying out in detail her background, her high school grades,

her driving record, along with an unattributed quote from a school official about her "little wild streak." A freshman at Carleton College in Minnesota, who says she was repeatedly raped for four hours by a fellow student, claims that she was asked at an administrative hearing if she performed oral sex on dates. In 1989 a man charged with raping at knife point a woman he knew was acquitted in Florida because his victim had been wearing lace shorts and no underwear.

From a purely legal point of view, if she wants to put her attacker in jail, the survivor had better be beaten as well as raped, since bruises become a badge of credibility. She had better have reported the crime right away, before taking the hours-long shower that she craves, before burning her clothes, before curling up with the blinds down. And she would do well to be a woman of shining character. Otherwise the strict constructionist definitions of rape will prevail in court. "Juries don't have a great deal of sympathy for the victim if she's a willing participant up to the nonconsensual sexual intercourse," says Norman Kinne, a prosecutor in Dallas. "They feel that many times the victim has placed herself in the situation." Absent eyewitnesses or broken bones, a case comes down to her word against his, and the mythology of rape rarely lends her the benefit of the doubt.

She should also hope for an all-male jury, preferably composed of fathers with daughters. Prosecutors have found that women tend to be harsh judges of one another—perhaps because to find a defendant guilty is to entertain two grim realities that anyone might be a rapist, and that every woman could find herself a victim. It may be easier to believe, the experts muse, that at some level the victim asked for it. "But just because a woman makes a bad judgment, does that give the guy a moral right to rape her?" asks Dean Kilpatrick, director of the Crime Victim Research and Treatment Center at the Medical University of South Carolina. "The bottom line is, Why does a woman's having a drink give a man the right to rape her?"

Last week the Supreme Court waded into the debate with a 7-to-2 ruling that protects victims from being harassed on the witness stand with questions about their sexual history. The Justices, in their first decision on "rape shield laws," said an accused rapist could not present evidence about a previous sexual relationship with the victim unless he notified the court

Would you classify the following as rape or not?

A man has sex with a woman who has passed out after drinking too much

	RAPE	NOT RAPE
FEMALE	88%	9%
MALE	77%	17%

A married man has sex with his wife even though she does not want him to

	RAPE	NOT RAPE
FEMALE	61%	30%
MALE	56%	38%

A man argues with a woman who does not want to have sex until she agrees to have sex

	RAPE	NOT RAPE
FEMALE	42%	53%
MALE	33%	59%

A man uses emotional pressure, but no physical force, to get a woman to have sex

	YES	NO
FEMALE	54%	33%
MALE	69%	20%

Do you believe that some women like to be talked into having sex?

	YES	NO
FEMALE	54%	33%
MALE	69%	20%

From a telephone poll of 500 American adults taken for TIME/CNN on May 8 by Yankelovich Clancy Shulman. Sampling error is plus or minus 4.5%. "Not sure" omitted.

ahead of time. In her decision, Justice Sandra Day O'Connor wrote that "rape victims deserve heightened protection against surprise, harassment and unnecessary invasions of privacy."

That was welcome news to prosecutors who understand the reluctance of victims to come forward. But there are other impediments to justice as well. An internal investigation of the Oakland police department found that officers ignored a quarter of all reports of sexual assaults or attempts, though 90% actually warranted investigation. Departments are getting better at educating officers in handling rape cases, but the courts remain behind. A New York City task force on women in the courts charged that judges and lawyers were routinely less inclined to believe a woman's testimony than a man's.

The present debate over degrees of rape is nothing new; all through history, rapes have been divided between those that mattered and those that did not. For the first few thousand years, the only rape that was punished was the defiling of a virgin, and that was viewed as a property crime. A girl's virtue was a marketable asset, and so a rapist was often ordered to pay the victim's father the equivalent of her price on the marriage market. In early Babylonian and Hebrew societies, a married woman who was raped suffered the same fate as an adulteress—death by stoning or drowning. Under William the Conqueror, the penalty for raping a virgin was castration and loss of both eyes—unless the violated woman agreed to marry her attacker, as she was often pressured to do. "Stealing an heiress" became a perfectly conventional means of taking—literally—a wife.

It may be easier to prove a rape case now, but not much. Until the 1960s it was virtually impossible without an eyewitness; judges were often required to instruct jurors that "rape is a charge easily made and hard to defend against; so examine the testimony of this witness with caution." But sometimes a rape was taken very seriously, particularly if it involved a black man attacking a white woman—a crime for which black men were often executed or lynched.

Susan Estrich, author of *Real Rape*, considers herself a lucky victim. This is not just because she survived an attack 17 years ago by a stranger with an ice pick, one day before her graduation from Wellesley. It's because police, and her friends, believed her. "The



Jean Murray was a freshman at Florida State when she was raped by a student to whom she had given a ride after a frat party. He was sentenced to 5½ years, and she won a \$1.5 million judgment against him. "Parents should know what's going on," says her father John Murray. "Until you come face to face with it, you don't understand the political ramifications of a rape on campus."

first thing the Boston police asked was whether it was a black guy," recalls Estrich, now a University of Southern California law professor. When she said yes and gave the details of the attack, their reaction was, "So, you were really raped." It was an instructive lesson, she says, in understanding how racism and sexism are factored into perceptions of the crime.

A new twist in society's perception came in 1975, when Susan Brownmiller

published her book *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape*. In it she attacked the concept that rape was a sex crime, arguing instead that it was a crime of violence and power over women. Throughout history, she wrote, rape has played a critical function. "It is nothing more or less than a conscious process of intimidation, by which all men keep all women in a state of fear."

Out of this contention was born a set of arguments that have become politically correct wisdom on campus and in academic circles. This view holds that rape is a symbol of women's vulnerability to male institutions and attitudes. "It's sociopolitical," insists Gina Rayfield, a New Jersey psychologist. "In our culture men hold the power, politically, economically. They're socialized not to see women as equals."

This line of reasoning has led some women, especially radicalized victims, to justify flinging around the term rape as a political weapon, referring to everything from violent sexual assaults to inappropriate innuendos. Ginny, a college senior who was really raped when she was 16, suggests that false accusations of rape can serve a useful purpose. "Penetration is not the only form of violation," she explains. In her view, rape is a subjective term, one that women must use to draw attention to other, nonviolent, even nonsexual forms of oppression. "If a woman did falsely accuse a man of rape, she may have had reasons to," Ginny says. "Maybe

Do you believe a woman who is raped is partly to blame if:

AGE	YES	NO
She is under the influence of drugs or alcohol	18-34	31% 66%
	35-49	35% 58%
	50+	57% 36%

She initially says yes to having sex and then changes her mind	18-34	34% 60%
	35-49	43% 53%
	50+	43% 46%

She dresses provocatively	18-34	28% 70%
	35-49	31% 67%
	50+	53% 42%

She agrees to go to the man's room or home	18-34	20% 76%
	35-49	29% 70%
	50+	53% 41%

Have you ever been in a situation with a man in which you said no but ended up having sex anyway?	ASKED OF FEMALES	YES 18% 80%
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Date rape was shoved into the headlines when William Kennedy Smith, pictured with his mother Jean, was accused of assaulting a woman he had met at a Palm Beach bar. It may end up as a watershed case because it contains all the mysteries and passions that surround the issue.



she wasn't raped, but he clearly violated her in some way."

Catherine Commins, assistant dean of student life at Vassar, also sees some value in this loose use of "rape." She says angry victims of various forms of sexual intimidation cry rape to regain their sense of power. "To use the word carefully would be to be careful for the sake of the violator, and the survivors don't care a hoot about him." Commins argues that men who are unjustly accused can sometimes gain from the experience. "They have a lot of pain, but it is not a pain that I would necessarily have spared them. I think it ideally initiates a process of self-exploration. 'How do I see women?' 'If I didn't violate her, could I have?' 'Do I

have the potential to do to her what they say I did?' Those are good questions."

Taken to extremes, there is an ugly element of vengeance at work here. Rape is an abuse of power. But so are false accusations of rape, and to suggest that men whose reputations are destroyed might benefit because it will make them more sensitive is an attitude that is sure to backfire on women who are seeking justice for all victims. On campuses where the issue is most inflamed, male students are outraged that their names can be scrawled on a bathroom-wall list of rapists and they have no chance to tell their side of the story.

"Rape is what you read about in the New York Post about 17 little boys raping a

jogger in Central Park," says a male freshman at a liberal-arts college, who learned that he had been branded a rapist after a one-night stand with a friend. He acknowledges that they were both very drunk when she started kissing him at a party and ended up back in his room. Even through his haze, he had some qualms about sleeping with her: "I'm fighting against my hormonal instincts, and my moral instincts are saying, 'This is my friend and if I were sober, I wouldn't be doing this.'" But he went ahead anyway. "When you're drunk, and there are all sorts of ambiguity, and the woman says 'Please, please' and then she says no sometime later, even in the middle of the act, there still may very well be some kind of violation, but it's not the same thing. It's not rape. If you don't hear her say no, if she doesn't say it, if she's playing around with you—oh, I could get squashed for saying it—there is an element of say no, mean yes."

The morning after their encounter, he recalls, both students woke up hung over and eager to put the memory behind them. Only months later did he learn that she had told a friend that he had torn her clothing and raped her. At this point in the story, the accused man starts using the language of rape. "I felt violated," he says. "I felt like she was taking advantage of me when she was very drunk. I never heard her say 'No!,' 'Stop!,' anything." He is angry and hurt at the charges, worried that they will get around, shatter his reputation and force him to leave the small campus.

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“But if you can't rape your wife, who can you rape?" A crude joke, but a fair reflection of a common attitude for most of history. Until 1979, most states had rape laws that explicitly protected husbands from prosecution for even the most violent rapes of their wives. For a woman to refuse to sleep with her husband was grounds for divorce. But over the past decade, the attitudes and the laws have slowly shifted. A generation that saw an epidemic of wife beating and wife murder could hardly pretend that sexual violence within marriage was not also a crime. In a 1990 study a House committee estimated that 1 in 7 married women will be raped by their spouses. Very few crimes will be reported, however, since women assume that no one will believe them. Women think marital rape is she has a headache and doesn't want to

have sex and she gives in," says Ann Marie Tucker, executive director of the Citizens Committee on Rape, Sexual Assault and Sexual Abuse in Buffalo. "That isn't it at all. The sexual abuse is often part of an ongoing pattern of physical intimidation and violence."

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Gutmann is an ardent foe of what she calls the date-rape dogmatists. "How can you make sex completely politically correct and completely safe?" she asks. "What a horribly bland, unerotic thing that would be! Sex is, by nature, a risky endeavor, emotionally. And desire is a violent emotion. These people in the date-rape movement have erected so many rules and regulations that I don't know how people can have erotic or desire-driven sex."

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It would be easy to accuse feminists of being too quick to classify sex as rape, but feminists are to be found on all sides of the debate, and many protest the idea that all the onus is on the man. It demeans women to suggest that they are so vulnerable to coercion or emotional manipulation that they must always be escorted by the strong arm of the law. "You can't solve society's ills by making everything a crime," says Albuquerque attorney Nancy Hollander. "That comes out of the sense of overprotection of women, and in the long run that is going to be harmful to us."

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Some researchers fear that even raising the question trivializes the whole issue of rape. But there are paradoxes here that might shed light on the issue. How is it that when an adolescent boy is coerced into sleeping with an older woman, it is viewed with a wink as an accepted rite of passage, while the reverse—the coercion of a girl by an older man—is clearly not? ■

Date rape was shoved into the headlines when William Kennedy Smith, pictured with his mother Jean, was accused of assaulting a woman he had met at a Palm Beach bar. It may end up as a watershed case because it contains all the mysteries and passions that surround the issue.



CHARLES E. LINDNER/AP

she wasn't raped, but he clearly violated her in some way."

Catherine Commins, assistant dean of student life at Vassar, also sees some value in this loose use of "rape." She says angry victims of various forms of sexual intimidation cry rape to regain their sense of power. "To use the word carefully would be to be careful for the sake of the violator, and the survivors don't care a hoot about him." Commins argues that men who are unjustly accused can sometimes gain from the experience. "They have a lot of pain, but it is not a pain that I would necessarily have spared them. I think it ideally initiates a process of self-exploration. 'How do I see women?' 'If I didn't violate her, could I have?' 'Do I

have the potential to do to her what they say I did?' Those are good questions."

Taken to extremes, there is an ugly element of vengeance at work here. Rape is an abuse of power. But so are false accusations of rape, and to suggest that men whose reputations are destroyed might benefit because it will make them more sensitive is an attitude that is sure to backfire on women who are seeking justice for all victims. On campuses where the issue is most inflamed, male students are outraged that their names can be scrawled on a bathroom-wall list of rapists and they have no chance to tell their side of the story.

"Rape is what you read about in the New York Post about 17 little boys raping a

jogger in Central Park," says a male freshman at a liberal-arts college, who learned that he had been branded a rapist after a one-night stand with a friend. He acknowledges that they were both very drunk when she started kissing him at a party and ended up back in his room. Even through his haze, he had some qualms about sleeping with her: "I'm fighting against my hormonal instincts, and my moral instincts are saying, 'This is my friend and if I were sober, I wouldn't be doing this.'" But he went ahead anyway. "When you're drunk, and there are all sorts of ambiguity, and the woman says 'Please, please' and then she says no sometime later, even in the middle of the act, there still may very well be some kind of violation, but it's not the same thing. It's not rape. If you don't hear her say no, if she doesn't say it, if she's playing around with you—oh, I could get squashed for saying it—there is an element of say no, mean yes."

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at communicating. "In many cases," says Estrich, "the man thought it was sex, and the woman thought it was rape, and they are both telling the truth." The man may envision a celluloid seduction, in which he is being commanding, she is being coy. A woman may experience the same event as a degrading violation of her will. That some men do not believe a woman's protests is scarcely surprising in a society so drenched with messages that women have rape fantasies and a desire to be overpowered.

By the time they reach college, men and women are loaded with cultural baggage, drawn from movies, television, music videos and "bodice ripper" romance novels. Over the years they have watched Rhett sweep Scarlett up the stairs in *Gone With the Wind*; or Errol Flynn, who was charged twice with statutory rape, overpower a protesting heroine who then melts in his arms; or Stanley rape his sister-in-law Blanche du Bois while his wife is in the hospital giving birth to a child in *A Streetcar Named Desire*. Higher up the cultural food chain, young people can read of date rape in Homer or Jane Austen, watch it in *Don Giovanni* or *Rigoletto*.

The messages come early and often, and nothing in the feminist revolution has been able to counter them. A recent survey of sixth- to ninth-graders in Rhode Island found that a fourth of the boys and a sixth of the girls said it was acceptable for a man to force a woman to kiss him or have sex if he has spent money on her. A third of the children said it would not be wrong for a man to rape a woman who had had previous sexual experiences.

Certainly cases like Palm Beach, movies like *The Accused* and novels like Avery Corman's *Prized Possessions* may force young people to re-examine assumptions they have inherited. The use of new terms, like acquaintance rape and date rape, while controversial, has given men and women the vocabulary they need to express their experiences with both force and precision. This dialogue would be useful if it helps strip away some of the dogmas, old and new, surrounding the issue. Those who hope to raise society's sensitivity to the problem of date rape would do well to concede that it is not precisely the same sort of crime as street rape, that there may be very murky issues of intent and degree involved.

On the other hand, those who downplay the problem should come to realize that date rape is a crime of uniquely intimate cruelty. While the body is violated, the spirit is maimed. How long will it take, once the wounds have healed, before it is possible to share a walk on a beach, a drive home from work or an evening's conversation without always listening for a quiet alarm to start ringing deep in the back of the memory of a terrible crime? —Reported by Sylvester Monroe/Los Angeles, Priscilla Painton and Anastasia Toufexis/New York

The Clamor on Campus

Date rape is one crime that colleges are finding too hot to handle but impossible to ignore

By NANCY GIBBS

Universities have always been America's approximate monasteries, embracing codes of behavior too stringent for the outside world. Deans aim to enforce a set of rules that will guide young people from the safety of their family to the freedom of the rest of their life. Some students arrive barely knowing how to

Julie charges that a fellow cast member in a Carleton play came to her dorm room uninvited one night and raped her. She and three other students are suing the college for failing to protect them from their attackers. "Date rape is not a gray area. It's criminal assault," she says. "The college knew of three assaults before mine. They could have spared me my experience."



drink and sleep, much less drink and sleep together; they have little sense of what is appropriate and what is expected of them. So with a pitcher of beer in one hand and a dorm key in the other, society's children set out to discover who they are.

What many learn first is that within a cloistered courtyard, rape is an easy crime: doors are left unlocked, visitors come and go, and female students give classmates the benefit of the doubt. College officials have led the effort to raise consciousness about the problem through rape-awareness weeks, video series, pamphlets, training manuals and posters: DATE RAPE IS VIOLENCE, NOT A DIFFERENCE OF OPINION. But when a really nasty incident occurs, the instinct too often is to handle it quietly and try to make it go away.

Katie Koestner was a virgin when she was allegedly raped by a student she had been dating at William and Mary College.

The dean took her to the campus police, but steered her away from the outside authorities, she says. When she asked for an internal investigation, the accused man got to question her first, and then she had her turn. At 2:30 a.m., after 7½ hours, he was found guilty of sexual assault. Days later she learned his penalty: he was barred from entering any dorm or fraternity house other than his own for four years, but he was al-

lowed to stay on campus. "The hearing officer told me that this is an educational institution, not a penitentiary," she recalls. "He even said, 'Maybe you guys can get back together next year.' I couldn't believe it."

The man later wrote in the campus newspaper that he had suffered the "terrible consequences of being falsely accused." He said he had been dating Koestner for three weeks; one night they slept together, without having sex, and then early the next morning, "without any protest or argument on the part of Ms. Koestner, we engaged in intercourse." He was found guilty, he said, not for physically forcing Koestner to have sex, but for applying emotional pressure.

The debate grew more heated when Koestner went public with her story. Since then she has received stacks of letters and calls of support. Women raped decades ago phone and thank her for saving their

daughters. Though the school defends its procedures, vice president W. Samuel Sadler says that "Katie's coming forward has personalized the issue and led to a more intensive discussion, and frankly improved input."

That discussion goes on at colleges everywhere. "It seems like date and acquaintance rape is the rule rather than the exception on campuses today," says Frank Carrington, a consultant for Security on Campus, a nonprofit group based in Gulph Mills, Pa. "And the way the universities treat it is to cover up and protect their image while a tremendous outrage is building."

Nowhere is it building faster than at Carleton College, Minnesota's prestigious private liberal-arts school and, in 1983, one of the first in the nation to establish a sexual-harassment policy. In the language of the university's judicial code, "rape"

warn other students about college rapists.

Amy went to the dean of students, whom she had been told she could trust. "He told me it was my word against my attacker's, and that if I went for a criminal prosecution, the victim was basically put on trial." So instead she picked the gentler alternative—an internal review, at which she ended up being grilled about her sexual habits and experiences. Her attacker was found guilty of sexual assault but was only suspended, because of a dean's assurance that he had no "priors" other than "advances without sanction."

Julie started dating a fellow cast member in a Carleton play. They had never slept together, she charges in a civil suit, until he came to her dorm room one night, uninvited, and raped her. Weeks later, she says, he ripped her dress at a play re-

hearsal and grabbed her exposed breast. Still she told no one. "If I had been raped by a stranger, I would have told someone. But to be raped by a friend—I began to wonder, Whom do you trust?" She struggled to hold her life and education together, but finally could manage no longer and left school. Only later did Julie learn that her assailant was the same man who had attacked Amy.

Two other students, Kristene and Karen, claim to have suffered similar experiences at the hands of another student; all four of the Carleton women have filed suit against the college. They claim the school knew these men had a history of sexual abuse and did nothing to prevent their attacking again. Even after the men were found guilty of sexual harassment, they were allowed to remain on campus, and the victims were barred from warning their dorm mates under the college's privacy policy. The local police chief says that in the past six years, no Carleton official has brought an assault victim to the department.

Carleton President Stephen Lewis Jr. explains that he is acutely aware of the problem of rape on campus, which is why the sexual-harassment policy was created in the first place. He believes the four students objected not so much to the procedures as to the outcome. All were advised of the option of going to the police. "These women chose to go to the university hearing board but didn't like the result, and now they're suing," says Lewis, who arrived on campus in the fall of 1987, after two of the alleged rapes took place. "We understand they're upset, but that doesn't mean they're right. I accept fully that Amy and Kristene believe they were raped, but the hearing boards concluded that they hadn't been." If the men, who were found guilty of lesser charges, had committed forced

DEFINITION REQUIRED

Both Parties are Fully Consenting
Both Parties equally Free to Act
Both Parties have Positively and Clearly Communicated their Consent

DEFINITION THAT WORKS

Non-harassment or enticement of a person based on their gender. Examples include sexual, discrete, planned, or unanticipated, genital, etc.



Aware that rape is an easy crime on campuses, college officials are leading the way in raising awareness through training manuals, videos, pamphlets and counseling sessions. Male students at Hobart College in Geneva, N.Y., attend rape-prevention educational workshops.

doesn't officially exist. School administrators call it "sexual harassment" or "advances without sanction." But those phrases don't seem very useful when Julie, Amy, Kristene and Karen try to describe what happened to them.

In October 1987, Amy had been on campus just five weeks when she joined some friends to watch a video in the room of a senior. One by one the other students went away, leaving her alone with a student whose full name she didn't even know. "It ended up with his hands around my throat," she recalls. In a lawsuit she has filed against the college, she charges that he locked the door and raped her again and again for the next four hours. "I didn't want him to kill me. I just kept trying not to cry." Only afterward did he tell her, almost defiantly, his name. It was near the top of the "castration list" posted on women's bathroom walls around campus to

hearsal and grabbed her exposed breast. Still she told no one. "If I had been raped by a stranger, I would have told someone. But to be raped by a friend—I began to wonder, Whom do you trust?" She struggled to hold her life and education together, but finally could manage no longer and left school. Only later did Julie learn that her assailant was the same man who had attacked Amy.

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sexual intercourse, he says, they would have been expelled. "It's like a court of law. When the accused is acquitted, you can't then sue the jury."

This month Representative Jim Ramstad of Minnesota filed a bill in Congress—the "campus sexual-assault victims' bill of rights"—that guarantees students the right to have assaults investigated by police and to live in housing "free from sexual or physical intimidation." Under a law already passed, beginning in 1992 colleges will be required to make campus crime statistics public. That will give parents and prospective students a chance to make informed decisions about the risks they are willing to take with their safety. More important, the law may encourage colleges to be more vigilant about crime in their midst and more protective of young people in their care.

—Reported by Cathy Booth/
Minneapolis

AIDS Moves in Many Ways

Headlines about tainted transplants and infected dentists stir public anxiety, but there is no cause for panic

By ANASTASIA TOUFEKIS

For medical experts, steering the public through an epidemic is a precarious balancing act: they must maintain a healthy level of fear in people and yet keep them from slipping into either complacency or terror. That job is especially difficult in these days of the AIDS plague, which has become the most frightening and confusing

acs and other patients were being infected from transfusions. To date, more than 4,100 blood recipients have contracted AIDS. Fearful Americans increasingly are banking their own blood in advance of scheduled operations or giving donations earmarked for family and friends. The caution is understandable: in the past few years the Food and Drug Administration has cited the Red Cross, which provides



A technician selects a unit of stored blood at a Baltimore Red Cross center

health problem since the polio panic of the 1950s. While some Americans have smugly assumed they are perfectly safe, others have mistakenly fretted that they could pick up HIV (the AIDS virus) from toilet seats or mosquito bites. Throughout the crisis, specialists have offered strong reassurance: if people are careful about sex and avoid shooting drugs with dirty needles, their chances of contracting AIDS are extremely small. But now a series of incidents is renewing public nervousness about the ease with which the virus can be transmitted.

The latest tremor came last week when the American Red Cross announced it was totally revamping its facilities and procedures for handling blood donations—an admission that the current system is not as safe as it should be. Confidence in the U.S. blood supply has been shaky since the early days of the AIDS epidemic when there were frequent reports that hemophili-

half the U.S. blood-bank supply, for not following safety procedures designed to guard against the use of HIV-infected blood, for inadvertently releasing blood contaminated with hepatitis and for failing to report accidents and errors.

The Red Cross announcement followed by days word that the FDA and the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) are tracking down recipients of organs and tissues taken from a Virginia man infected with the AIDS virus who was killed during a robbery in 1985. His organs and tissues, which had tested negative for the virus, were distributed among 56 patients in 16 states. Six of them have tested positive for HIV.

While the public may have been disturbed by such news, there is in fact little danger from transfusions and transplants. Blood and donated organs and tissues are routinely screened for the AIDS virus. Still, there is no way to remove all threat from these

procedures. One problem is that there is a lag of up to six months from the time a person is infected with HIV until blood tests can detect antibodies. Since blood banks began screening for the virus in 1985, 15 people of the estimated 24 million who have had transfusions have been infected from blood that had passed all the tests. Some 3 million transplants have been performed during that time; only one patient has developed AIDS and eight others have tested positive for the virus.

Far more troubling are indications that some doctors and hospitals may be lax in protecting patients against exposure to the AIDS virus. Chicago's Illinois Masonic Medical Center has temporarily closed its adult clinic following two alarming incidents. In April a physician taking a Pap smear from a woman unwittingly used a swab that had previously been used to take a culture from an HIV-positive patient. The doctor thought the testing kit, which had been left out unlabeled on a table in the hallway, had been prepared for his use. Just weeks later, two toddlers who had accompanied a woman into a clinic examining room pricked themselves with a syringe that is believed to have been used on an AIDS patient. The youngsters plucked the needle from the covered red bucket into which dirty syringes are tossed; the pail was on an open shelf under a sink.

Public anxiety about medical professionals is already running high. The CDC reported earlier this year that a Florida dentist with AIDS had somehow infected three patients. Undoubtedly, precautions need to be tightened, but the possibility of contracting AIDS through mishaps or from infected doctors remains remote. Only 3 of 1,000 cases involving jabs with contaminated needles result in HIV transmission, according to the National Institutes of Health. And medical professionals face a greater risk of getting AIDS from patients than vice versa. About 40 workers have been infected by patients' blood. The three patients who caught the virus from the Florida dentist are the only documented cases of worker-to-patient transmission.

That is not likely to mollify the public, which craves absolute safety, not just in medicine but in all facets of life. "People have to think of the alternatives," says Dr. David Sutherland, a transplant surgeon at the University of Minnesota. "If your heart is failing and you're given one month to live without a heart transplant, are you going to say, 'I'm not going to have it because there's a 1-in-10,000 chance I'll get AIDS'?" I doubt it." One positive side effect of AIDS is that it has forced major improvements in the U.S. health-care system. The strange truth is that most Americans may be safer now than they were before the coming of AIDS. —Reported by Barbara Dolan/Chicago and Andrea Dorfman/New York

Number of people

who have
contracted AIDS
from:

BLOOD TRANSFUSIONS

4,168

TRANSPLANTS

1

HEALTH-CARE WORKERS

3

RISING STAR

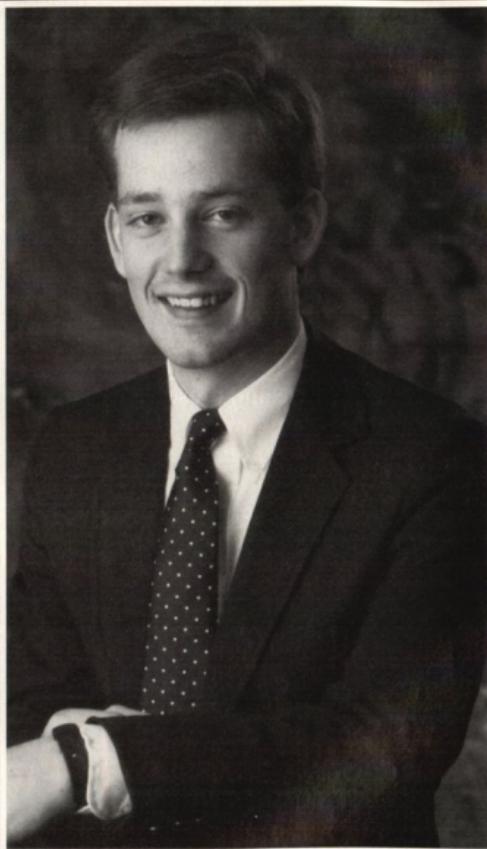
Timothy P. Holtz, *University of Richmond*

Volunteerism is Timothy Holtz's self-expression. While enrolled at the University of Richmond, Holtz founded a Campus Chapter of Habitat for Humanity International, a non-profit Christian-based initiative that helps poor families build their own homes.

In addition to coordinating the efforts of student volunteers, Holtz helped organize a bicycle race fundraiser for the last two years, raising over \$50,000. He also serves as a Board Director for the Richmond Metropolitan Habitat for Humanity group.

Holtz on volunteerism: "It is my chance to act on my faith in God and to share it with others in a non-threatening way."

Holtz is one of 20 students honored by TIME last spring as a College Achievement Award Winner.



TIME COLLEGE ACHIEVEMENT AWARD WINNER

Sponsored by Volkswagen United States

RISING STAR

John R. Unger II, *West Virginia University*

John Unger's interest in medicine was inspired by a statement made by Martin Luther King, Jr.: "The true neighbor will risk his position, his prestige and even his life for the welfare of others . . ."

Unger hopes his studies in Mechanical/Biomedical Engineering will give him an edge on modern medical technology to help "spread love and preserve life" in the next century.

Unger has devoted his energies to helping the homeless in West Virginia and refugees in Hong Kong, and, this past summer, to working with Mother Teresa in India. He hopes "to transplant her methods for alleviating suffering" to his home state.

Unger is one of 20 students honored by TIME last spring as a College Achievement Award Winner.



TIME COLLEGE ACHIEVEMENT AWARD WINNER

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Ethics

Cheating on the Tests

The controversial practice known as race norming was probably doing minorities more long-term harm than good

John Smith, a white, scores 327 on a vocational-aptitude test. Fred Jones, a black, gets only 283. But if the two applicants are sent to a prospective employer, their test results are said to rank identically at the 70th percentile. A computer error? No. The raw score Jones earned was compared only with the marks obtained by fellow blacks. Smith's number went into a blend of scores made by whites and "others." If a Hispanic takes the same test, his raw score is converted on a third curve reserved for Hispanics only.

Sound fair? It is—and it isn't. "Within-group scoring," sometimes known as race norming, has been used for a decade by the U.S. Labor Department as a form of affirmative action. This spring it became part of a partisan brawl as Republicans and Democrats squared off over the latest update of civil rights legislation. Last week House Democrats agreed to an explicit ban on race norming as part of an effort to salvage their version of the civil rights bill. But the congressional din threatens to drown out an important debate over the value of testing and the amount of racial redress white America will tolerate.

The Labor Department's program started, ironically enough, under the Reagan Administration. In 1981 Labor began



A manual-dexterity segment of the GATB: examinees must move 48 pegs, two at a time, from one side of the board to the other

to promote use of an expanded version of its General Aptitude Test Battery as a basis for referring job applicants to private employers. But civil rights activists were leery. Minorities score lower in general on the tests than whites; exams have served in the past as a ruse to filter out black or brown applicants. So race norming was added as a way to make the results "color-blind." Eventually, 35 states adopted the Labor Department program in some measure. Until recently, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission encouraged firms in some cases to shade scores for the benefit of minorities. Variations of norming have been used in other programs as well.

Five years ago, the Reagan Justice Department suddenly denounced the GATB practice, saying it was reverse discrimination and thus illegal under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Such practices do seem to contradict both the letter and the spirit of Title VII, the basic equal-employment law, which was designed to foster color blindness. Race norming also runs head-on into traditional American notions of advancement based on individual achievement.

The situation grew even murkier when the National Research Council reviewed the battery of general-aptitude tests in the wake of the Justice assault. It found the 12-part exam to be bias-free. But the council also found that low GATB scores tend to be less reliable predictors of job success or failure than high marks, a fact that works against blacks and Hispanics. The reviewers recommended some revised race norming while GATB

is refined, a process expected to begin soon. The Solomonic conclusion satisfied no one. Race norming is one of the many dubious palliatives employed because black Americans still suffer the damage inflicted by centuries of racism. Yet blatant group preferences, such as manipulating test scores, impose their own costs. They fuel a backlash against other reforms, create doubts about individual achievements and can subtly discourage minorities from striving for their full potential. In the high-tech age, tests are a fact of life. Rather than fudge outcomes, society must now face the challenge of equipping everyone to pass them.

—By Laurence I. Barrett/Washington

Milestones

RETIREMENT ANNOUNCED. By **Johnny Carson**, 65, smooth, indestructibly popular host of NBC's *Tonight* show; after nearly three decades as America's favorite bedside companion. Ending years of rumors about his departure, Carson told a convention of NBC affiliates in New York City that he would finally call it quits next May. NBC has not named a successor, but comedian and exclusive guest host Jay Leno is the heavy favorite for the job.

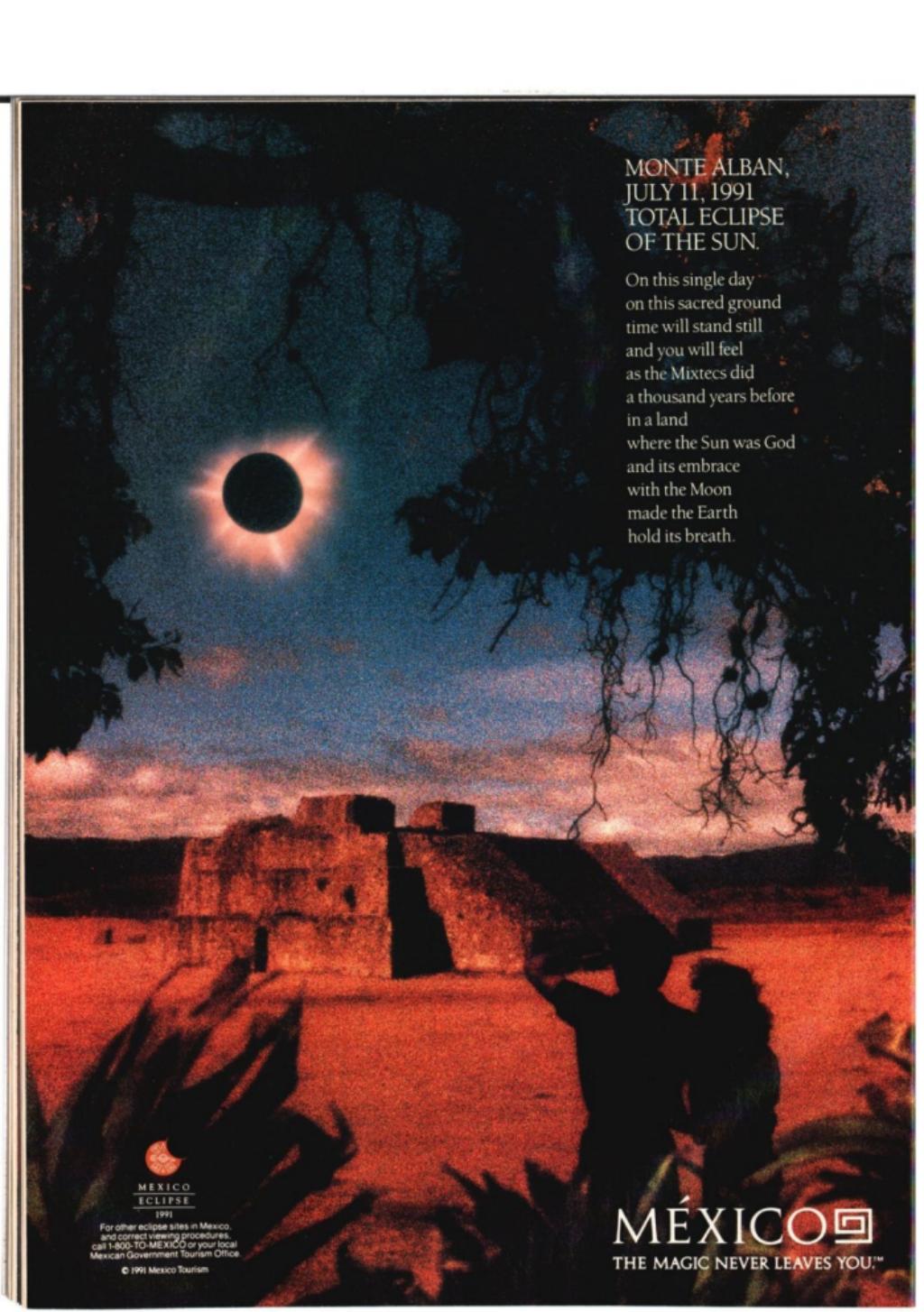
RECOVERING. **Michael Landon**, 54, strapping star of *Bonanza* and *Little House on the Prairie*; from surgical removal of a blood clot in his leg; in Malibu, Calif. The operation is considered common for chemotherapy patients like Landon, whose illness was diagnosed in April as inoperable cancer of the pancreas and liver.

HOSPITALIZED. **Peggy Ashcroft**, 83, venerable British stage and film actress; for a stroke; in London. Dame Peggy is internationally known for her role as Barbie the retired missionary in the smash television series *The Jewel in the Crown*, and for winning an Oscar as best supporting actress in David Lean's *A Passage to India*.

DIED. **Nicholas Dante**, 49, Pulitzer Prize- and Tony Award-winning co-librettist of *A Chorus Line*; of AIDS; in New York City. In conjunction with James Kirkwood, Dante, whose real name was Conrado Morales, based parts of the play on his experience as someone who strove to overcome his loneliness and poverty by winning dancing roles. The longest-running show in Broadway history, *A Chorus Line* had 6,137 performances between 1975 and 1990.

DIED. **James ("Pete") Runnels**, 63, former two-time American League batting champion; of a stroke; in Pasadena, Texas. A spray-hitting infielder, Runnels played for the Washington Senators from 1951 through 1957, then won two batting crowns with the Boston Red Sox, in 1960 and 1962, with averages of .320 and .326. In his 14-year major-league career, Runnels compiled a .291 average.

DIED. **G.E. Hutchinson**, 88, English-born American zoologist and one of the fathers of the science of ecology; in London. A research biologist and former Yale professor, Hutchinson was one of the first to warn of the effect of burning forests on global warming. His ecological studies of freshwater lakes provided new insight into aquatic life, including insects.



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The Ultimate Horror Show

A court hearing pits First Amendment rights against the fear of an electronic return to the rite of public execution

By JILL SMOLOWE

The voice-over is easy to script. "Robert Alton Harris was executed yesterday at San Quentin prison. He was the first California prisoner in 24 years to be put to death..."

The video images are also easy to imagine. Harris being strapped to a chair. Cyanide pellets dropping into sulfuric acid. Fumes filling San Quentin's green-walled gas chamber. Harris gasping his final breaths, twitching.

Far more difficult to predict is how viewers will react to the video footage of the event. When—and if—the time comes, what will spectators do? Lean in toward the screen, fascinated? Cringe in horror? Cover their children's eyes? When Harris' body goes limp, many will breathe a sigh of relief. But will it be for the murderer? His victims? Themselves?

We may have a chance to find out, if public television station KOED triumphs in a June 7 hearing before a federal court in San Francisco and is permitted to broadcast Harris' execution. A career criminal, Harris was convicted in 1979 of the murder the preceding year of two teenage boys in San Diego. He is the first of 301 death-row convicts in California in line for execution.

In its lawsuit, which was filed in May 1990, KOED argues the public's right to know. "Giving voters accurate information about the administration of the death penalty is especially important in California, where capital punishment was enacted by voter initiative." Television correspondents with cameras, the station contends, should have just as much right to cover the event as newspaper reporters carrying notebooks. (In the wake of the KOED lawsuit, San Quentin authorities barred all journalists of any kind from the execution.)

But the issues go beyond an abstract debate over First Amendment press rights. At the heart of the case are troubling emotional questions about whether a social need is met by graphically showing justice being served in its most extreme form. Viewing an execution could repulse so many people that it might lead to a backlash against the death pen-

alty. Or it could kindle a disquieting Dickensian excitement that appeals to society's most morbid instincts. Or, at a time of fear about rising lawlessness, televised executions might grimly satisfy the public's urge to see that society's most brutal criminals receive the full brunt of justice.

Capital-punishment opponents are divided; the National Coalition to Abolish

Viewing an execution could repulse so many people that it might lead to a backlash.

Or it could kindle a disquieting Dickensian excitement.



More than deterrence: 1930s hanging in Missouri

the Death Penalty, an organization with 120 affiliated groups, has taken no stance. Some members argue that if Americans want the death penalty, they should face the consequences of their action squarely. If they cannot bear the thought of watching public executions, then they may realize that it does not make moral sense to permit executions in private either. Other death-penalty opponents maintain that whatever the potential gains, televised executions

are too ghoulish to consider. Says Donald Gillmor, professor of media ethics at the University of Minnesota: "I don't like our return to an era of public hanging."

Death-penalty proponents are similarly split. Ernest van den Haag, a former law professor at Fordham University who supports the death penalty, fears that televised executions might stir a misplaced sympathy for murderers. "Our compassion for the murderer whose life is cut short before our eyes may overcome our sense of justice," he argues, "for we are not shown his innocent victim nor how he murdered them." The fear of a public backlash is countered by the argument that once citizens view their first execution, the next one will not seem so terrible, and anti-death penalty fervor may even subside.

The debate over whether the death penalty is a deterrent to crime is writ large when it comes to televising it. The horrible images, proponents say, would certainly give pause to potential criminals. Others contend that the gruesome thrill of watching a state-sanctioned murder could, in some twisted way, make all murder seem more acceptable. "There is evidence that immediately following an execution, violence increases," says Martin Rosenthal of the Criminal Justice Institute at Harvard Law School. "It puts out the subliminal message that the solution is violence." Inside San Quentin, authorities are concerned that other death-row inmates, who have TV sets in their cells, may be impelled to violence if they witness Harris' execution.

But the debate over the death penalty is about more than deterrence, and so too is the debate over televising executions. Some crimes are so heinous that society thirsts for vengeance against the perpetrators. That base yet understandable desire, in addition to mere morbid curiosity, is what prompted thousands of spectators to turn out in Kentucky for the last public execution in America, the hanging of Rainey Bethea in 1936, and at other such spectacles throughout history.

If KOED wins its case and the scene of Harris' last breath is broadcast into the nation's living rooms, will people judge it to be a disturbing atrocity or a darkly satisfying rite? And how will they feel when the image replays not only on their screens but in their minds, as it undoubtedly will?

—Reported by Bonnie Angelo/
New York and Robert W. Hollis/San Francisco



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People

BY SOPHFRONIA SCOTT

The End?

And they were on a roll too. **NANCY** beat cancer, **ELLIOT** grew up, **ELLYN** got married. Sure, **GARY** died, but **MICHAEL** took care of everything. How could they ever leave us now? But ABC canceled **thirtysomething** last week after four seasons. The show had gathered a faithful audience, who saw it as a reflection of their own lives, but ABC Entertainment chief Robert Iger said it was "time to move forward." The creators already have. Executive producers Edward Zwick and Marshall Herskovitz are directing films, though they do have doubts about cutting viewers off cold. There may be 13 episodes done for next season or a spinoff show for the **Melissa** character. **Hope** springs eternal.

NANCY: MICHAEL: GREGORY DICKSON; GARY: GREGORY DICKSON; ELLY: GREGORY DICKSON; MICHAEL: GREGORY DICKSON

Knighted

There were no hugs, no talking hats, and protocol was observed to a tee. Still, **Queen Elizabeth II** managed to have an eventful wrap-up to her U.S. visit. In Tampa she bestowed an honorary knighthood on General Norman Schwarzkopf and sampled military life by riding in a Humvee vehicle. Then it was off to the Lone Star State, where she was the first British monarch to visit Texan soil. "Lesser mortals are pifited for their misfortune in not being born Texans," she told an Austin crowd. After seeing the Alamo, dining with Governor Ann Richards and toe-tapping to gospel music in Houston, the Queen ended her tour. Husband Prince Philip went home, but the Queen stayed to relax at a horse farm in Lexington, Ky.

Coffee Serial

"Romance isn't instant. It takes 30 seconds." With that premise, Taster's Choice coffee has folks watching its commercials as if they're episodes of *All My Children*. The ads have struck a chord because they depict old-fashioned romance. "There's nothing more exciting than the start of a relationship," says **Sharon Maughan**, the British actress who plays a coffee-borrowing neighbor. She's had tons of offers since the spots began, and can be

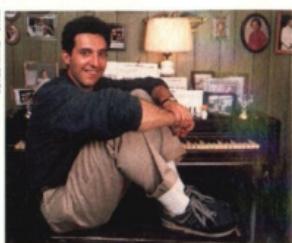


seen this week on PBS's *Mystery!* series. At one point Maughan, 37, gets to utter, "I hate coffee." But that's O.K.: it's another brand.



He's on the Rise

JOHN TURTURRO doesn't think of acting and film-making in competitive terms. "After all, it's not sport," he says. But he's not complaining that the competition of Cannes let him walk off with the best-actor award. The star of *Barton Fink*, which also won Cannes honors for best film and direction, is finally coming into his own after performing in 20 films. A favorite of director Spike Lee, who complained bitterly after being shut out of the big honors at Cannes, the busy Turturro, 34, can also be seen this summer in Lee's *Jungle Fever*. Next on his plate: directing his own screenplay, which took him 10 years to write.



Rock Stamp

When a rock band hits the big time in the U.S., chances are it'll pick up an award or two, plus the adoration of a slew of fans. But in Sweden a group can get what even Elvis couldn't: a minted stamp. The country will honor the pop duo **Roxette** in October on a stamp that depicts them in full rock-'n'-roll regalia. "I'm playing guitar and Marie's screaming," says Per Gessle of himself and Marie Fredriksson. Roxette has been a Swedish mainstay since 1986, but Americans now tuned in to their sound have made the single *Joyride* No. 1 on the charts.



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Environment

Can Lawns Be Justified?

Awash in fertilizers and pesticides, they may be a hazard to homeowners—and children, pets and neighbors

By JOHN SKOW

Lawn is the curse of suburban man, his bizarre fetish, the great green god he sprays to. Lawn must be barbecued to the satisfaction of one's neighbors, or it earns their dirty looks and, in some tightly strung communities, a summons from city hall. The ideal lawn is featureless, a living imita-

izers from farmlands has tainted water supplies, and though industry experts say it doesn't happen, critics fear similar troubles from suburban lawn runoff.

Children are especially vulnerable to the junk that your neighbor's lawn service fogs around or to the "completely safe for humans" stuff that you bought at the hardware store. Lawn poisons can cause head-

who says her health was destroyed in 1985 when a lawn-care service sprayed her neighbor's yard. Her cat and dog died the same day, she says, and she continues to suffer partial paralysis, substantial vision loss, headaches and blood disorders. Another woman told the Senate subcommittee that she sometimes slept in her car to avoid lawn spraying in her neighborhood.

Such people can seem distraught to the point of crankiness, but extreme sensitivity to chemicals is not a rare condition. How much regulation the multibillion-dollar lawn-care industry should have was the main issue before the subcommittee. Neighborhood warnings before pesticide dousings



TIME © 1991 TIME INC. 63

Better Lawns Through Chemistry

- Americans spent \$6.4 billion last year on lawn-care products, up 13% from 1989
- About 40% of the nation's private lawns are treated with pesticides
- Homeowners use three to six times as much pesticide per acre as farmers do

tion of AstroTurf. Striving to achieve it soaks up water, money and weekend go-off time in fantastic quantities.

Never mind that trying to grow grass in hot, cold or arid regions is almost as silly as trying to grow kelp. Americans have been lawning 25 million to 30 million acres, an area larger than Virginia. Lawn is our connection to the English manor houses to which most of us cannot trace our ancestors; it is the decent, respectably dull necktie we knot around our houses.

Now—is this really a surprise?—lawn owners are hearing from environmental activists what common sense has been telling them for some time. The herbicides and insecticides they spread on their lawns are poisons. They can be deadly, the charge goes, not only to the noxious bugs and broad-leaf weeds they are supposed to kill but also to useful bugs, to the earthworms that aerate the soil and to pets and people. Do-it-yourselfers don't read warning labels or take precautions to protect themselves, and they use up to six times as much pesticide per acre as farmers do. Runoff of fertil-

aches, dizziness, eye problems, mental disorientation and lasting damage to the nervous system. Cancer is also a possibility, since some pesticides contain known carcinogens. Of course, your lawn looks great.

So the testimony, much of it bitter, went this month before the Senate environment and public-works subcommittee on toxic substances. Dallas petroleum consultant Tom Latimer, 36, testified that he used the widely sold insecticide diazinon six years ago to control grubs eating grass roots at the same time that he was taking the drug Tagamet to control warts. Neither chemical came with a warning of dangerous interaction, but the impact of diazinon, an organophosphate that inhibits nerve action, was apparently magnified by the Tagamet. Today his eyesight remains severely damaged; he has constant headaches; his memory, concentration and mental acuity are dulled.

Proving legal responsibility and collecting damages in such cases are difficult, and Latimer has had no luck. Nor, so far, has Christina Locek, 42, of River Grove, Ill., a onetime professional ice skater and pianist

But At What Price?

- The chemicals can cause such symptoms as headaches, dizziness, nausea and eye trouble
- Runoff from yards may threaten the safety of urban ground-water supplies
- Sprays can annoy or endanger neighbors, especially when the wind is blowing

and signs on treated lawns afterward were proposed. ChemLawn, the big lawn-care outfit with headquarters in Columbus does not oppose such measures, though a spokesperson said last week that a study of 100 employees who applied lawn chemicals showed "no long-term health effects."

Until now, government supervision of lawn pesticides has been notably drowsy. The Environmental Protection Agency is required to review the dangers of pesticides that were in use before 1972, when more stringent regulations went into effect, but so far has completely cleared only two of the 34 most used chemical agents. While the EPA deliberates, all of them continue to be used on lawns. According to the National Coalition Against the Misuse of Pesticides, an advocacy group critical of the lawn-care industry, nine of the pesticides may be carcinogenic, 10 may cause birth defects, three can affect reproduction, nine can damage the liver or kidneys, 20 attack the nervous system, and 29 cause rashes or skin disease. Pesticides, says NCAMP national coordinator Jay Feldman, are defined "as accept-

Environment

able poisons. But nothing out there is safe."

In a political climate that favors market forces, not regulation, the EPA has been unwilling to crack down. Noting that geese had been dying from ingesting diazinon, the pesticide that gave Latimer so much trouble, the agency did ban the chemical for use on sod farms and golf courses. What it failed to do, perhaps fearing the wrath of the pesticide industry, was ban diazinon's much more extensive use on home lawns. Those fellows at the hardware store will still sell you as much as you want.

Tom Adamczyk, EPA deputy branch chief of herbicides, says it did not seem likely that geese would be landing on suburban lawns (though ornithologists have known for several years that lawn-care pesticides are killing songbirds). Adamczyk went on to note that the EPA has banned the pesticides chlordane, 2,4,5-T and Silvex from the market. He says quicker re-evaluation would be desirable "in the ideal world" but the agency

has not had the money or personnel to speed up the process. "You can't just yank a product off the market without incontrovertible proof that it's harmful."

Pesticides, it seems, are innocent until proved guilty. Tom Watschke, a turf-grass scientist at Penn State University, derides pesticide critics for "saying that until the EPA can prove that any chemical for sale in a garden center is safe, it shouldn't be available. That's ridiculous. The real risk is the person who has no knowledge of agronomic principles and thinks if a certain dose of pesticide is good, then double is better." Worry about fertilizers and pesticides running off into lakes, rivers and groundwater and causing fish kills and algal blooms, Watschke insists, "is just propaganda that unfortunately is scaring the public unnecessarily."



Christina Loeck

Maybe, but why take the risk? Brain tumors must be excised, if possible, but dandelions don't really do any harm. In fact, they are pretty, enthusiastic, nutritious in salads and excellent for wine making. Of course, if they ever became popular, the lawn-care megacorporations would sell us patent medicine to encourage them by killing the grass. In the meantime, California may be the waterless wave of

the future. In Los Angeles, Robin Thomas is trying to revive his dried yellow grass with organic products, not chemicals, because "I have children, and they play on the lawn." In Oakland, Rachel Blau's lawn is green because it rained recently. But if there's no rain, "we let it go," she says, bravely adding the unsayable "I don't care how it looks." —Reported by Andrea Dorfman/
New York and Joyce Leviton/Atlanta

Look Who's Going Green

U.S. utilities, with the help of enlightened regulators, are finding ways to do good by selling less

Power companies get to play the heavy in more than their share of environmental dramas. If they're not damming scenic rivers or generating nuclear waste, they're burning fossil fuels, contributing to acid rain, urban smog and the buildup of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere. In that regard, American utilities have a lot to answer for. The U.S., with 5% of the world's population, produces a quarter of the global output of carbon dioxide, the major greenhouse gas, of which fully one-third comes directly from the smokestacks of the companies that supply Americans with their heat and electric power.

Lately, however, a handful of utilities has begun to try a new role: as protectors, not despoilers, of the earth's resources. Last week the environmental spotlight was on California, where two big Los Angeles power companies—Southern California Edison and the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power—unveiled plans to cut their emissions of CO₂ 20% during the next 20 years, largely through conservation programs and the use of solar and geothermal technologies. It was the first time any U.S. utility had promised to reduce its output of CO₂ to help curb global warming. Southern



Southern California Edison's "Conserva-Cat" teaches energy saving

California Edison chairman John Bryson says the policy "makes good scientific, environmental and business sense."

But these were hardly the first power companies to go green. In January the largest U.S. utility, San Francisco-based Pacific Gas and Electric, announced a \$2 billion plan by which it hopes to save 2,500 MW of electricity during the next decade—equivalent to the output of several new power plants—by encouraging customers to use energy more efficiently. New England Electric, which has one of the nation's most ambitious conservation programs, sends bright yellow vans into neighbor-

hoods in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, giving away efficient fluorescent lights and wrapping water heaters with heat-retaining blankets. Similar programs have been launched by Central Maine Power, Wisconsin Power & Light and Puget Sound Power & Light.

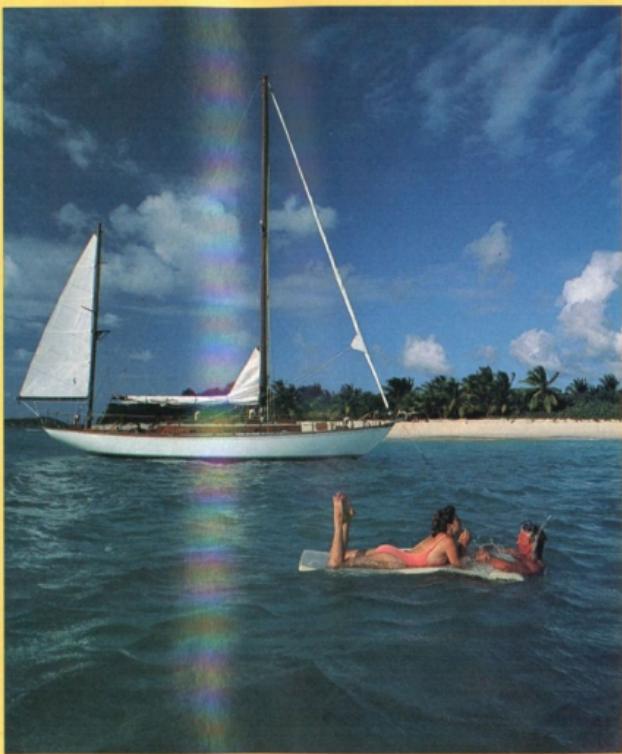
How can firms stay in business if they encourage customers to buy less? The answer is innovative programs adopted by a growing number of state regulators. Traditionally, the only way a power company increased profits was by selling more power. Under the new rules, utilities can make as much money from promoting conservation as they can from building new plants. In California, for example, utilities that cut costs by not having to generate as much electricity can pass 85% of the savings to their customers and keep 15% for their shareholders. Everyone wins.

Environmentalists applaud these new programs but complain that they are not broad enough. Most U.S. utilities have not yet seen the light, and manufacturers and motorists still do not have enough incentives to conserve fuel. What is needed, says Gus Speth, president of the World Resources Institute, is an initiative like the one adopted by the European Community, which calls for member countries to stabilize their CO₂ emissions at 1990 levels. So far, the Bush Administration has refused to commit itself to any such goal. In fact, in the energy plan put forward by the White House in February, conservation was overshadowed by calls for increased energy production.

—By Philip Elmer-DeWitt



Caribbean Summer

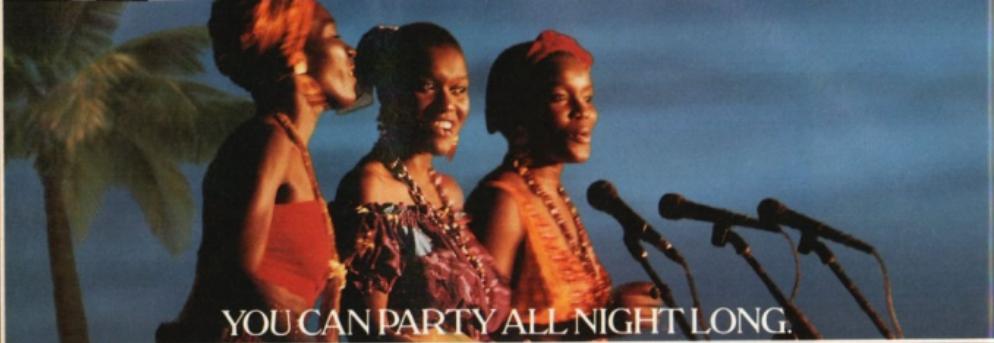


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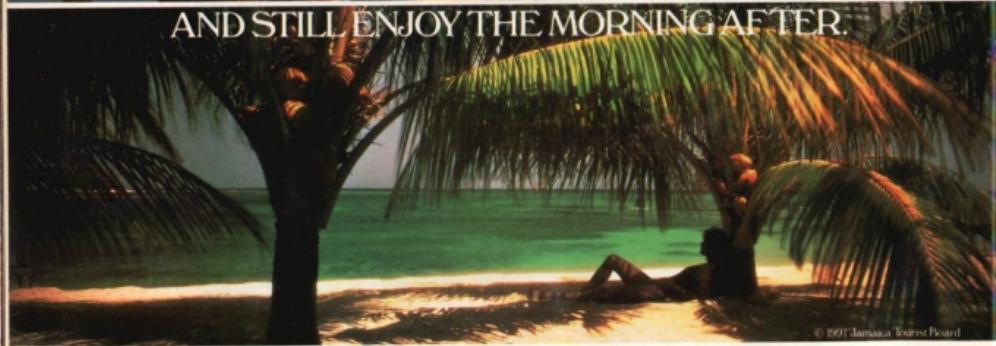


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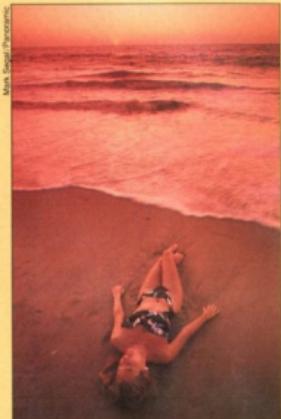


Anguilla Antigua & Barbuda Aruba Bahamas Barbados Belize

Make the Most of Summer

The Caribbean is more than beaches, sunshine, clear seas, steady trade winds, modern hotels, action-oriented resorts, and emerging nations of people with skin color from ebony to pale coral.

It's a region where you can hike in a rain forest, spot parrots and other endemic birds, discover ancient shipwrecks, sample creole cooking, study Arawak and Carib cultures, explore 18th-century fortresses, enjoy whimsical (and functional) architecture. You can leap about at lively festivals, go to casinos, attend classical concerts, learn to dance the soca, reggae or merengue, watch woodcarvers, chat with the local folks—or just simply relax.



Imagine yourself relaxing on any of Jamaica's fabulous beaches.

Being Yourself Comes Naturally in the Caribbean

The Robinson Crusoe lifestyle thrives whether you choose a high-tech health spa resort... or crave a back-to-nature experience (with no phones, no T.V. or pressure), where a white-sand beach the texture of talcum powder is your front lawn and the several shades of blue in sea and sky are separated only by fish-flecked coral reefs and the horizon.

Islands like Aruba, the Bahamas and Puerto Rico offer lively casinos, complete with nightclubs, shops, and several restaurants. Most islands concentrate on more natural pleasures like beaches, plantations, tropical forests, rivers, and, of course, the sea. It's even possible to spend your vacation on an island where the glitz and glitter are just a short distance away from your hideaway and the loudest noise at night is the chirping of a tiny tree frog.

Island choices range from once British Jamaica—with lush high mountains, waterfalls and beach resorts in every style—to Dutch-affiliated Curaçao—flat, sandy and hauntingly beautiful, with windmills, pastel-colored architecture, and the Caribbean's newest underwater park. There are French islands, islands with a distinctly Spanish style, and islands that still reflect their 18th-century Danish or Swedish settlers. All the islands are proud of their African heritage, revealed in the music, dances, foods, and faces.

The united nations of the Caribbean present the flavor of Europe with an African West Indian flair: casual, sunstruck places where there's no pressure to do anything—except have a perfect vacation.



Sunfishing is a favorite pastime in the islands.

Vacations with Values

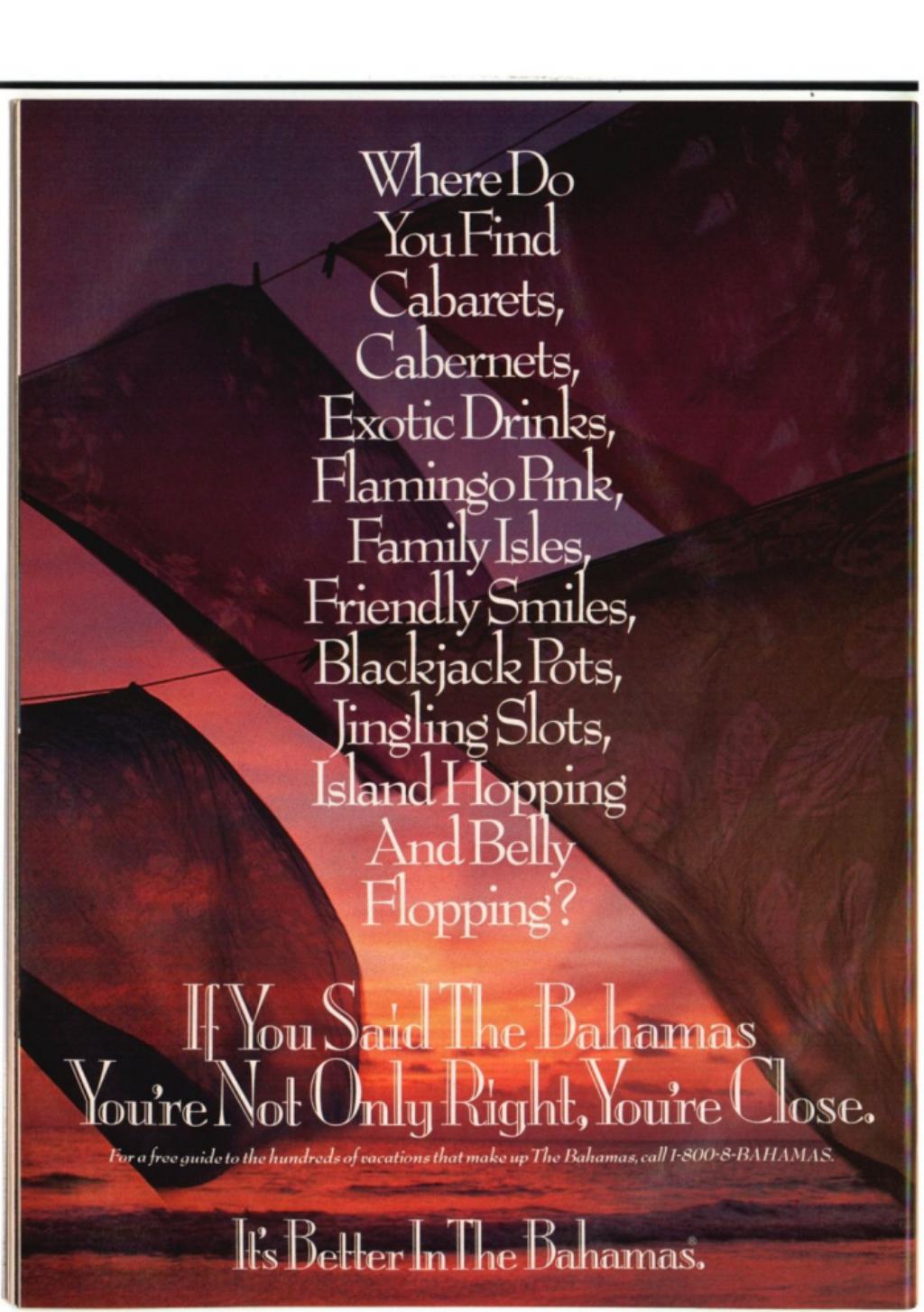
All-inclusive vacations—where one prepaid fee covers “everything” for a multilight stay—are a Caribbean specialty. Jamaica started it all, with a uniquely West Indian version of the formula first presented at French Club Méditerranée. Now, in addition to having many of the Caribbean's most lavish villas, a tony group of “Elegant Resorts,” and several personality inns, Jamaica's north coast claims dozens of hotels that offer the “all-inclusive” plan. Some resorts are perfect for singles, others for couples, and a few focus on family fun.

Summer is a special value in the Caribbean, when the flowering trees are in full bloom and the cooling trade winds are steady. From mid-April to mid-December, even fully staffed luxury villas—with pools such

as those found in Barbados and St. Lucia—rent for a fraction of their wintertime peaks. Hotel prices overall are 20% to 50% lower than during their peak-season, wintertime highs.

Some summer plans offer extra activities at no additional cost; the United States Virgin Islands and others give additional free nights when you buy a multilight vacation. There are package plans for tennis, golf, and scuba that include lessons. There are also vacations for families that offer free beds for children and airfare at a modest sum.

Travel agents are best equipped to tap through hundreds of computer keys that unlock the most favorable airfares, routings, packages, and rates. Work with one who knows and cares about you.



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Romance and Relaxation

Britain's Princess Diana has been known to spend a few quiet days on tiny Necker Island in the British Virgin Islands, and Monaco's Prince Rainier, his children and grandchildren were in Jamaica for the Christmas holidays. Claudette Colbert has played hostess to a President at her Barbados home.

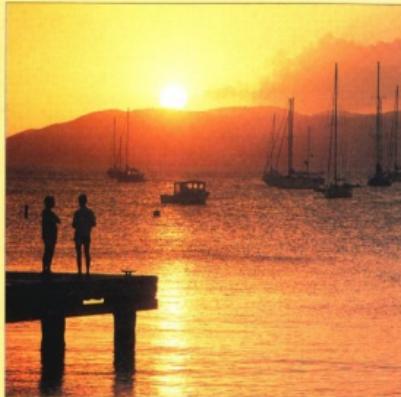
But quiet times on sunny islands are not only for the Royals and other famous folk. There are plenty of hideaways and restful enclaves for the rest of us. They're the region's hidden assets, and you don't have to be a honeymooner to enjoy them.

You've probably heard about the Bahamas' soft breezes, sunny days, moonlit nights, and island music under the stars, but did anyone ever tell you about the small hotels where each room has its private pool? Or the cozy restaurants where the sea laps the shore only inches from your feet? Or the powder-sand beaches that have hammocks for two?

Or maybe you already know the Abacos, Exumas, Eleuthera, Harbour Island, and the rest of the Bahamas' Family Islands, where clapboard houses and picket fences echo the styles of the 18th-century East Coast United States.

They're all part of the island scene, where you'll find your perfect villa, quiet inn, beachside bungalow, or remote resort.

Decide what's most important to you. Is it beachside living or a sensational view? Do you want to be pampered or left alone? If your idea of romance includes discos and gourmet restaurants, tell your travel agent. And if golf and tennis are part of your plan, be sure to choose a place where they're easily

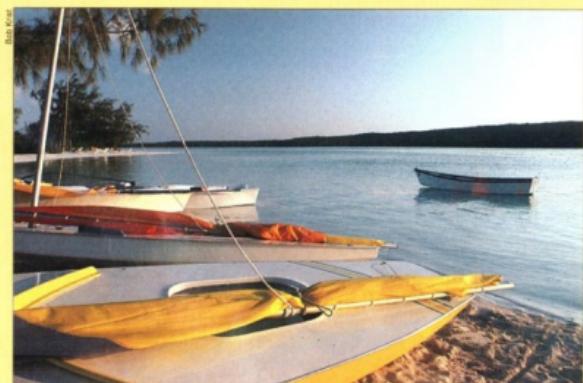


Romance and tranquillity can be found under the island's evening sky.

accessible—and the greens fees and court time are included in the holiday package.

If you're planning a honeymoon, your travel agent and the island government tourist offices can provide folders describing special plans offered by many island hotels. You can even plan an island wedding.

Whether you cruise or fly, travel light mentally and physically. Be receptive to new experiences and take only what you can comfortably carry. After all, once you've packed the sun-block lotion, camera, and plenty of film, you'll need only two bathing suits, comfortable warm-weather daywear, and something fun and fashionable for festive evenings.



Boats have always been part of island life in the Bahamas.

Most hotels have tennis courts or they can arrange for you to play nearby. While the greatest choice of golf courses is in the Bahamas, Jamaica and Puerto Rico, the newest championship 18-hole course is in Nevis.

St. Martin/St. Barts Guyana Haiti Jamaica Martinique Montserrat Puerto Rico Saba St. Eustatius St. Kitts

Island Flavor and Fun



Music is in the soul of the Caribbean and will probably seep into yours soon after you arrive. Although Jamaican-born reggae has conquered the Western world, calypsoes with lyrics that poke fun at local foibles are a tradition of the Caribbean culture, as are the talented steel-band musicians unique to the region.

While dance styles differ from place to place, swaying with the grace of palm trees is shared by all. Latin rhythms move the people of

Puerto Rico and Venezuela, while Jamaica and Curaçao move to a strong African beat, and Trinidad adds some East Indian overtones. In French-influenced islands, like Dominica and St. Lucia, you'll hear Latin and African rhythms and you may even see dancers in creole costumes.

If it's a more classical culture you prefer, go to Puerto Rico's June festival honoring famed cellist Pablo Casals, or visit the June-weekend Jazz concerts in Aruba.

Jamaica's Reggae Sunsplash leads the roster for pure exuberance, as Ziggy Marley sings songs that recall his famous father Bob Marley, who started it all. And throughout the Bahamas Goombay Summer program, downtown Nassau percolates with costumed dancers.

The Crop Over Festival is a cultural event that involves all



Windmills reflect the Dutch heritage of Aruba.

Barbadians and island visitors in music, dance, and traditional food.

When it comes to Caribbean cuisine, you'll discover organically grown, exotic new vegetables with names like christophene and callaloo, as well as fire-hot, aromatic peppers and a wealth of



On Aruba, we're unique by nature.

Nature has been especially good to our lovely island in the Caribbean. Our invitingly white beaches stretch out for miles. Our unique Dutch heritage makes us naturally gracious.

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Photo credit: George Hong

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fresh fruits. In Jamaica they "jerk" spicy chicken, pork and fish over a slow barbecue of fragrant native logs. In islands from the Bahamas down to Barbados, the seas yield fish and shellfish that are prepared in distinctive ways. Guadeloupe's

Fête de Cuisinières even involves a ceremony where costumed island chefs carry their specialties to church where they are blessed.

Aruba's "ceremony" for special flavors is the rijsttafel, a spicy rice-



During Carnival, traditions and visitors mingle.



Schoolgirls on a break in the lovely island of Barbados.

based multidish meal brought by early Dutch settlers from Indonesia. You'll also find rijsttafel in Curaçao.

A Sampler of Summer Events

Aruba: Jazz and Latin Music Festival (June 7-9, 14-16)

Bahamas: Coombay Summer (August 6-31); People-to-People Tea Parties (monthly through August)

Barbados: Crop Over Festival (July 13-August 5)

British Virgin Islands: Summer Festival (opens July 26)

Curaçao: Curaçao Open/Pro Am World Cup Windsurfing (June 11-16)

Dominica: Domifesta, an arts festival (all summer)

Grenada: Carnival (August 10-13); Carricou Regatta (August 3-5)

Jamaica: Reggae Sunsplash Montego Bay (July 15-20); Portland Jamboree (August 9-18)

Puerto Rico: Casals Festival (June 3-22)

St. John, USVI: July 4th Celebrations

St. Lucia: Carnival (July 1-2); Gros Ilet

Friday Fete (all year)

St. Thomas, USVI: Arts Alive Festival

(August 10-12)

St. Kitts & Nevis: Windsurfing/Sunfish Race (May-June); Culturama Festival in Nevis

Turks & Caicos: Provo Days, regatta, tournaments, pageants (July 31-August 4)

For Calendar of Events for the 28 members of the Caribbean Tourism Organization, write to CTO, 20 East 46th St., New York, NY 10017; telephone (212) 682-0435.

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Flora, Fauna and the Landscape



P.J. Miller

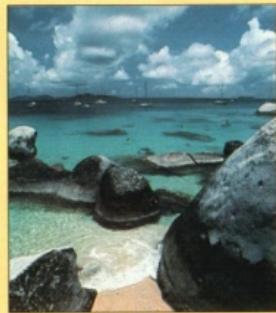
In Caribbean communities, the term "ecotourism" refers to protecting nature in protected areas as well as to the development of education centers and tours for visitors.

Although ecotourism is in its fledgling stages, formal botanical gardens were elements of 18th- and 19th-century development on most of the formerly British Islands. The Flamboyant tree, with its brilliant

red flowers, was brought from Madagascar to the Caribbean. Breadfruits from Tahiti and other plants from far-off places flourish in the islands. And the pineapple, which originated in Jamaica, is now a part of the Hawaiian Islands.

Small, green and dramatically mountainous St. Lucia is a botanical garden with towering twin peaks, the Pitons, a drive-in volcano and a warm-water waterfall. Barbados offers you the enjoyment of a Sunday ramble through its neat and verdant countryside. In islands like Dominica, there are well-marked trails in tropical forests and around waterfalls. The love of nature in the Caribbean is summed up best by Dominica's national motto, "After God comes the land."

Rare birds abound in the Caribbean. Dominica, St. Lucia and



Shades of turquoise are trademarks of The Baths on Virgin Gorda.

St. Vincent all have programs that protect their unique parrots; the tiny Turks and Caicos Islands have designated no fewer than 33 sanctuaries and national parks.

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Precious few hideaways remain where nature's innate drama and beauty successfully defy "development's" insistent hand. But here in the 60-plus British Virgin Islands, the majesty of land and sea work their magic on the soul without interruption. Man's major imprint is to create better ways for you to discover nature's little secrets—those enlightening (and rare) moments when you and the environment are in perfect harmony. Our people and way of life are easy-going and relaxed. We'll happily tell you much, much more.

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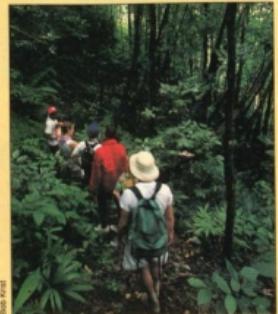
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THE
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Barbados Belize Bonaire British Virgin Islands Cayman Islands Curaçao Dominica Grenada Guadeloupe

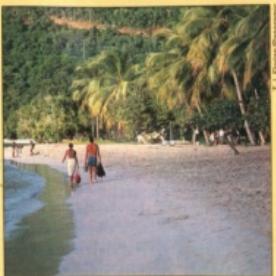
Many islands outlaw spear-fishing and enforce seasons for lobster proggling and fishing. Some have followed the example of the United States Virgin Islands, declaring



Visitors enjoy hiking in the lush tropical forest.

national underwater parks, where visitors and nationals are advised to look but not touch.

The Caribbean islands are, quite simply, sensational sources for divers and snorkelers. Coral reefs and drop-off walls are part of the seascape; sponges, basket corals, and colorful fish set up housekeeping in their chosen spots. Long-respected diving spots can be found off the United States and British Virgin Islands, the Cayman Islands, and Bonaire, but most islands have a seascape as varied as the landscape. Noteworthy diving spots also include Grenada, the Grenadines, Dominica, Saba, the Turks and Caicos Islands, St. Kitts, Nevis, and certainly Belize. If you choose to ride on the water as well as explore under it, the United States and British Virgin Islands in the north, and the Grenadines in the south, are meccas to yachtsmen.



Stroll along the U.S. Virgin Islands' "sidewalks of sand" along the sea.

Basic clothes are best for island exploring. For more strenuous outings (in some islands on horseback if you prefer), you'll need ankle-supporting shoes, a hat, long trousers and a long-sleeved shirt.

Let's just go!

Holiday in the United States Virgin Islands, the American paradise in the Caribbean. See your travel agent, and ask about the special money-saving promotions happening right now!

St.Croix St.John St.Thomas
The American paradise. United States Virgin Islands

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St. Martin/St. Barts Guyana Haiti Jamaica Martinique Montserrat Puerto Rico Saba St. Eustatius St. Kitts

Historical Happenings



The sun and weather may have mellowed the limestone blocks, but the Caribbean's buildings silently speak of the days when European nations played out their power struggles on the Caribbean sea.

Puerto Rico's Old San Juan now thrives as a living museum of 16th- and 17th-century Spanish architecture. On the inside, these restored buildings hold galleries, small restaurants, boutiques, and a few hotels.



Puerto Rico's forts and historic buildings are testimony to the thriving 16th- and 17th-century Spanish settlements.

Grenada's capital of St. George's is one of the Caribbean's best examples of Georgian-style architecture, with most of these charming buildings being used for commerce today.

Perched on a limestone bluff of St. Kitts, the 18th-century fortress of Brimstone Hill has been beautifully restored to be enjoyed for its historical importance. The capital of St. Kitts and Nevis, Basseterre, is

also being restored. Here shops, restaurants, small inns, and offices keep the past alive. Many of the former plantation homes on Nevis have been refurbished as comfortable inns.



Architecture in Curaçao's capital of Willemstad reflects the Dutch influence.



I KNOW A CARIBBEAN ISLAND WHERE YOU CAN DISCOVER

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Winding cobblestone streets. The echoes of the Conquistadores.

Only in Old San Juan. Only in Puerto Rico. Ancient. Vibrant. Embracing.

Raul Julia

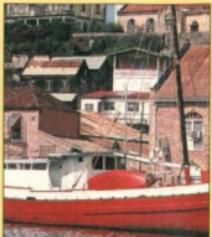
PUERTO RICO
THE SHINING STAR OF
THE CARIBBEAN



& Nevis St. Lucia St. Vincent & the Grenadines

Barbados, British from the time it was settled until its independence in 1966, maintains its museum in the former British Garrison buildings. Several of its restored plantation Great Houses are open for tours, afternoon tea and meals by reservation. Jamaica has also transformed many of its former British buildings, such as Kingston's Devon House, now a lively museum surrounded by craft shops and dining places.

Recent efforts on all islands have helped save a varied and rich architectural heritage.



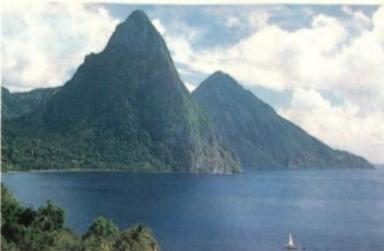
Delight in the pastel splendors of the harbors of St. George's.



Tending the fishnets is traditional work on St. Lucia.

Bob Kroll

Bob Kroll



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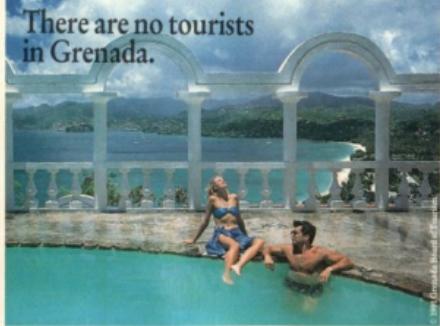
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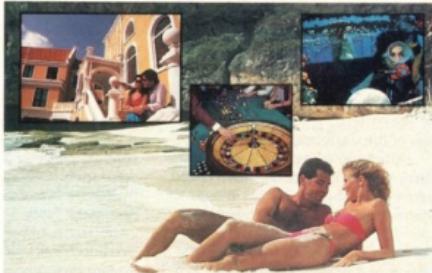
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Trinidad & Tobago Turks & Caicos Islands U.S. Virgin Islands Venezuela

Island Hopping



Bob Krist

Boats provide the traditional link between such places as Puerto Rico and its east-end satellites of Vieques and Culebra . . . or the Bahamas, where privately owned mail boats make scheduled crossings between Nassau and some of the Family Islands. But these days you can go from island to island on small planes.

Antigua-based LIAT (Leeward Islands Air Transport) is the region's leader for inter-island flights, with routes that stretch between Puerto Rico in the north, and Caracas, Venezuela, in the south, and include all the major islands on the eastern rim of the Caribbean sea.

After you've sampled Puerto Rico, a day trip from San Juan could take you shopping in the United States Virgin Islands of St. Croix/St. John/St. Thomas, for example. Staying in Barbados, you have the option of day trips to Grenada (55 minutes) and St. Vincent (45 minutes) . . . or you can split your vacation among these three places. Formerly British, French-influenced St. Lucia is a 15-minute flight from very-French Martinique, and the nature island of Dominica is only a short flight farther north.

In the United States Virgin Islands, the U.S. National Park on St. John, with its offshore snorkeling



Bob Krist

and onshore hiking, is a 20-minute boat ride from the east end of St. Thomas, noted for boutique-lined streets and alleyways in the capital of Charlotte Amalie.

Both a ferry boat and small planes link the two-island nation of St. Kitts-Nevis, as is the case within island groups like the Turks and Caicos Islands. And these suggestions are only a start. The list is endless.

Here are a few caveats for inter-island travel:

- Reconfirm reservations and schedules, even if it means stopping by the airport or harbor during your island travels.
- Arrive with plenty of time to claim your reservation.
- Travel light, with one small carry-on that you watch being stowed on—and taken off—your flight or boat.
- Take a window seat for spectacular island sightseeing.
- Relax—and enjoy the experience of inter-island travel.

You make a difference in the Caribbean. Tourism is a major employer and the source of the hard currency needed for world-market purchases. Helping visitors enjoy the Caribbean lifestyle is the purpose of "Meet the People" programs. These programs exist in the Bahamas, Jamaica, and other islands where volunteer residents open their homes to share their lives with interested visitors.

Shoppers' Note: Many items made in Caribbean countries qualify as duty-free purchases under GSP (General System Preferences). Luxury items on which duty would normally be paid are allowed into the U.S. mainland duty-free up to \$600 per person. Unique regulations for the United States Virgin Islands (St. Croix, St. John, St. Thomas) permit up to \$1200 per person, plus five liters of liquor and an additional bottle of locally made spirits. For further details, ask U.S. Customs for booklets titled "Know Before You Go" and "GSP."



Diving in Grand Turk is spectacular.

Cathy Lefebvre



Lisa Orenstein

The plantation gardens in Nevis are perfect for afternoon tea.



George H. Harg

The graceful doors of Dominica invite you in.

Caribbean islands have places that are perfect for honeymoons, families, singles, doubles, for action—and for doing nothing at all. And the seas are sensational for scuba diving, snorkeling and sailing. But not all islands have every offering. Ask about those things that matter most for your vacation.

For further information contact:
The Caribbean Tourism Organization
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Ideas

When Kids Do the Testing

For the best bet in peanut butter or the word on the wasteful packaging of fast food, check out Zillions

For weeks, all Karen Reid of Oak Ridge, Tenn., heard from her son Scott, "Reebok Pumps this, Reebok Pumps that." The fourth-grader wanted her to buy him a pair of the flashy high tops and explaining why she refused to part with \$150 for athletic shoes got her nowhere. Then Scott read that the Pump was heavy and can be uncomfortable. End of tug-of-war.

What convinced Scott was an article in *Zillions*, a consumer report for kids that evaluates everything from peanut butter to video games. The bimonthly magazine (circ. 250,000) is published by the nonprofit

of them 10 to 14 years old, were put to work. Any of them are welcome to join the 2,200-strong Z-Team, as the collection of potential product testers is known. Most are asked only to answer surveys about how they spend their money and what they think of various consumer goods. A lucky 100 are chosen to be official testers, who must follow strict rules in their evaluations.

Zillions believes its readers are concerned about the environment. For a story in the April-May issue, a dozen kids visited 24 Burger Kings, Hardee's, McDonald's and Wendy's to order meals and thereby

GO! GO! GO!

It was Nike's Quantum Force, vs. Reebok's Pump, vs. Nike's Air Jordan. A *Zillions*' stopwatch timed some of the magazine's experts sprinting across a gym floor in contending footwear. The kids took turns wearing all three brands of sneakers. Each ran slowest in Reebok's inflatable Pump. At 2½ lbs. a pair, Pumps were the heaviest.



it Consumers Union, which has been doing out advice to adults in its *Consumer Reports* for the past 55 years. The difference is that *Zillions* delivers buying tips with savvy humor and snazzy graphic designs and that the products are tested by an unusual group of experts: the kids themselves. Says Peggy Charren, president of Action for Children's Television: "*Zillions* figured out how to attract youngsters to information they need and does it with élan."

Zillions, based in Mount Vernon, N.Y., started life in 1980 as a less ambitious magazine called *Penny Power* but was revamped and renamed last year. Says editor Charlotte Baecher, a one-time high school English teacher: "We realized that the magazine could be doing a lot more." She expanded reviews, advice columns and increased the number of products being tested. The magazine, she says, tells kids, "Look, we know what's going on in your world. We know you've got zillions of pressures, and we're going to help you sort them out."

From the start, *Zillions*' readers, most

investigate recycling in the fast-food industry. With their food, they reported, came a mound of wasteful packaging, scores of napkins and 55 packets of ketchup. Of all outlets only one had recycling bins.

One of editor Baecher's goals is to help kids become aware of the hard sells and soft sell that are everywhere. A regular feature, "The Sneaky Sell," has reported on hidden ads, called advertorials, that appear in kids' publications purporting to be part of the contents. For the investment-minded youngster, "Money Talk" follows the progress—or lack thereof—of earnings from \$500 that the magazine put into various accounts last spring. (A mutual fund for stocks has dropped behind money-market and other financial investments.) And if a pal borrows money and does not pay it back, the magazine proposes ways to deal with that too. Tell your friend how you feel is the word from one Z-Team member and "be honest." Straight talk, kid to kid, is what *Zillions* is all about. —By Emily Mitchell

Reported by Kathryn Jackson Fallon/New York

Fresh Voices Above the Noisy Din

New works by four Chinese-American writers splendidly illustrate the frustrations, humor and eternal wonder of the immigrant's life

By JANICE C. SIMPSON

After receiving his first stack of rejection slips in the mid-1970s, David Wong Louie made a painful change in the short stories he sent out: he stripped them of all traces of ethnic identity. "What I'd do is write in the first person about somebody myself, but I wouldn't identify him as Chinese American," he says. "I was trying to satisfy my paranoia about what people wanted to read or what editors thought people wanted to read. And I didn't see anything out there to tell me differently."

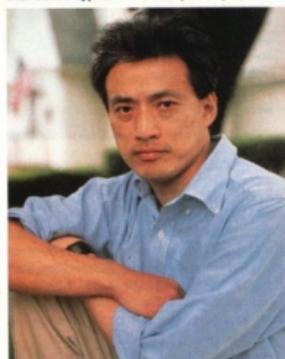
There wasn't much out there to see. Until the 1976 success of Maxine Hong Kingston's *The Woman Warrior*, a luminous collection of stories that mixed memoirs about the author's San Francisco girlhood with mystical tales of female warriors and monkey kings, Asian Americans were the invisible men and women in American literature. Even after Kingston's success, a dozen years passed before another Asian-American fiction writer achieved fortune and fame. First-time novelist Amy Tan's *The Joy Luck Club*, a loosely connected series of stories about Chinese-American mothers and daughters, sold an astonishing 275,000 hard-cover copies. Publishers took note, and this spring brings not only Tan's second novel, *The Kitchen God's Wife*, but also splendid debuts by three other Chinese-American writers.

Gus Lee's *China Boy* (\$19.95) is this season's major fiction offering from Dutton, which paid the novice writer an advance of nearly \$100,000 and ordered a first printing of 75,000 copies. Houghton Mifflin, which had ordered 11,000 copies of Gish Jen's *Typical American* (\$19.95), increased the run by 5,000 as pre-publication excitement grew for this engrossing tale of one immigrant family's pursuit of the American Dream. Two houses fought to publish *Pangs of Love* (Knopf; \$19), Louie's sharp and quirky collection of short stories.

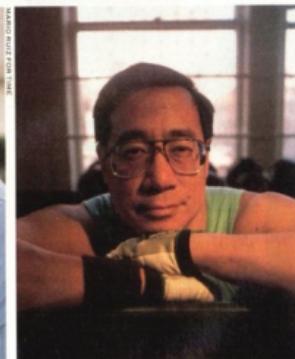
The enthusiasm among publishers for Asian-American writing can be attributed in part to the growth of the country's Asian population, which nearly doubled, from 3.5 million to 6.9 million, over the past decade. But editors say it also reflects the fact that more Asian Americans are writing—and writing good books. "They're second generation, and they're better educated and ready to tell about their experiences,"



Gish Jen: a Typical American journey from the margins into the mainstream



David Wong Louie: the Pangs of alienation



Gus Lee: the triumphs of a China Boy

says Seymour Lawrence, Jen's publisher. Some cynics warn, however, that the fascination with Asian-American fiction may be only skin-deep. "When there is a great success like Amy Tan's book, everyone is out there looking for his or her own Amy Tan," says Shannon Ravenel, the recently retired editor of the annual collection of *The Best American Short Stories*. Louie, 36, predicts that "if Gus Lee or Gish Jen don't

come through with big sales, then the next wave of interest in Asian-American writers may not come for another 15 years." That would be a shame, because each of these authors possesses the kind of fresh and original voice that marks a genuine talent. "We're all individual writers," says Lee. "It would be awful if we were compressed into one single dumpling."

Even when Louie stopped putting Chi-

nese names in his stories, his prose captured the alienation the author felt growing up as the son of a Chinese-laundry owner in a Long Island, N.Y., suburb. *Pangs of Love*, whose darkly humorous tales were written over the past seven years, recounts the adventures of a Chinese-American waiter working in a Japanese sushi bar, an Americanized son who can communicate with his Cantonese-speaking mother only in a pidgin version of her language, and the Chinese invention of baseball. Says Louie: "Asian Americans are still marginalized. I feel I have to write from those margins and tell what the experience is like."

Jen works the margins too. The Chang family in *Typical American* are devoted baseball fans who call themselves the Chang-kees in honor of their favorite team, but "the one time they went to an actual game, people had called them names and told them to go back to their laundry." Jen, 35, who grew up in Scarsdale, N.Y., and graduated from Harvard, is especially intrigued by how outsiders move from the margins into the mainstream.

Typical American chronicles that bitter-sweet journey for Ralph Chang, a Chinese engineering student who comes to the U.S.

in 1947 for his doctorate; his wife Helen; and his sister Theresa. The Changs initially disdain the lack of tradition they describe as "typical American" behavior, but soon they are stir-frying hot dogs. They also fall under the spell of Grover Ding, an American-born Sengali of free enterprise who leads Ralph into a dubious fried-chicken business, seduces Helen and causes Theresa, the family loyalist, to leave home. The happy ending for the Changs comes not in abandoning the American Dream but in finding a way to make it their own. "I wanted to broaden the immigrant experience," says Jen. "The idea is to give America back to Americans again in a fresh way."

It would be hard to find a more all-American story than Lee's delightful *China Boy*, a semi-autobiographical novel based on the author's childhood. Kai Ting, the title character, is the pampered youngest child and only son of a once wealthy family that fled China following the Communist takeover and settled in a poor—and predominantly black—neighborhood in San Francisco. When Kai's mother dies, his father brings home a white wife. She institutes a harsh Americaniza-

tion campaign that bans all Chinese food, language and customs from the house and abandons her stepson to regular beatings at the hands of neighborhood bullies who call him by the humiliating name China Boy. Kai gets little help from his father, who "was in an untenable position, forked on the cultural chessboard where the white squares of intellectual China met the hard black industrial squares of the West." But the boy does find allies in a black family, a Hispanic mechanic, a Chinese scholar who is an old family friend and a trio of boxing coaches at the Y.M.C.A. With their help, Kai learns how to make—and protect—a place for himself in America.

An attorney who attended West Point, Lee, 44, had never written fiction before. But he is a natural storyteller who stocks his tale with vivid characters, spirited dialogue and good humor. The book began as a private memoir for Lee's two children, but Kai Ting's struggle for self-identity is sure to win the hearts of a much wider audience. "I didn't write this book for commercial success," says Lee. "But I'd like to see Asian-American writers have the chance to succeed and be read." With books like these, they deserve to be. ■

The Second Triumph of Amy Tan

Fairy tales and Amy Tan seem to keep close company. Two years ago Tan was just another struggling, unpublished, 37-year-old writer, making up brochures for computer companies while composing stories on the side. By the end of 1989 she was the author of the most admired novel on the best-seller list, her *Joy Luck Club* having conquered critics and the public alike. A literary star had been born overnight—and, in her wake, a fairy tale's difficult postscript: How could she ever live up to what felt like a once-in-a-lifetime success?

At the outset of *The Kitchen God's Wife* (Putnam; 415 pages; \$22.95), one's apprehensions begin to gather like avenging furies: the opening pages introduce us to a young Chinese-American woman, her all-American husband and her inalienably Chinese mother, living around San Francisco—precisely the contemporary scene that made up the least transporting parts of *The Joy Luck Club*. For two chapters the young woman tells a pleasant but unremarkable tale of sweet-and-sour tensions, haunted by her nagging mother—and by her nagging sense that her mother and she are speaking different languages. Then, on page 61, the mother takes over, and suddenly the book takes flight.

For almost all the pages that follow, the yeasty old woman unpacks the rich and terrible secrets of her past, as a young girl in Shanghai growing up amid a plague of sorrows: how her own mother abandoned her and she was married off to an ogreish ne'er-do-well; how they hid in a monastery famous for dragon-



Weaver of a transcendent tale

well tea while the Japanese invaded Manchuria; how somehow she endured the war, losing friends and children along the way; and how, in the end, indomitable as pain, she escaped China and her husband just five days before the communist takeover.

Almost every page of the old wife's tale is lit up with the everyday magic of a world in which birds can sound like women crying and sweaters are knit in the memory of spider webs. Yet all the storybook marvels are grounded in a survivor's vinegar wit ("In Nanking, snow is like a high-level official—doesn't come too often, doesn't stay too long"). And in front of the watercolor backdrops are horrors pitiless enough to mount a powerful indictment against a world in which women were taught that love means always having to say you're sorry. In traditional China, the old widow recalls, "a woman had no right to be angry."

Yet the end—and the point—of Tan's novel is forgiveness, and the way in which understanding the miseries of others makes it harder to be hard on them. And

as the story all but tells itself—so seamlessly it feels as if Tan's ancestors are speaking through her—it bestows on us a host of luminous surprises. The first is that the dowdy, pinchedy old woman has a past more glamorous than fairy-tale, and more sad. The second is that in the light of her trials, her curious superstitions come to seem as sound as legal evidence. The final surprise may be the best of all: Tan has transcended herself again, triumphing over the ghosts, and the expectations, raised by her magnificent first book.

—By Pico Iyer

Four-star premiere.



BIOGRAPHY presents **SCHWARZKOPF**
Hosted by Peter Graves. Tuesday, June 4, 8pm



Play It Again, Sampler

A revolutionary device turns pop on its ear by enabling musicians to beg, borrow and steal sounds from all over

By GUY GARCIA

When you hear new songs on the radio these days, do they have a familiar ring? Listen more closely to what's tickling your subconscious. In many cases you did hear that sound before, maybe long ago. It's the James Brown beat that's now in a rapper's groove, or the recycled '60s riff in a current dance-floor hit. It's the steam heat of the early '80s hit *Under Pressure* recycled in the vanilla-hip hit *Ice Ice Baby*, and the streak of the funk classic *Super Freak* revived for M.C. Hammer's *U Can't Touch This*.

That oldies echo in your ears is the result of a high-tech technique, digital sampling, that is turning pop music on its ear. Besides creating some unexpected new sounds, sampling is raising serious legal and ethical issues. "We're talking here about the ultimate instrument," says Mike Edwards, founder and lead singer of the British neopsychadelic group Jesus Jones. "I think that sampling's effect on music cannot be calculated."

The concept dates back to the late '70s, when some enterprising disco deejay played a disembodied bit of an old record over and over again to give it a funky new spin. That technique took a quantum leap when the first electronic samplers were introduced around 1980. Unlike synthesizers, which generate tones artificially, samplers record real sounds. Anything audible is eligible: pre-recorded music, drumbeats, human voices, even ordinary noise like a slamming door. Samplers transform these sounds into digital codes, which in turn can be manipulated to produce melodies, rhythm tracks and complicated webs of sounds.

Sampling enthusiasts range from the funk-and-roll bands Faith No More and Fishbone to the avant-garde gurus David Byrne and Brian Eno. On Fishbone's acclaimed new album, *The Reality of Our Surroundings*, the band incorporates church bells and human screams. "We use sampling to enhance the integrity of our music," says drummer Phillip Fisher. "But if you put a collage together, you should give credit to the places you got your pieces from."

Not everyone shares such

scruples. Rap is rife with riffs sampled from other musicians without their consent, most notably James Brown. (The Godfather of Soul says he has counted 134 examples.) Producer-performer Lenny Kravitz borrowed a drum track from the rap group Public Enemy for the thrusting beat of Madonna's hit *Justify My Love*.

In Europe sampling has created some controversial musical stews. The technorockers EMF have stirred up a fuss with their single *Lies*, in which they sample the voice of Mark David Chapman, the John Lennon assassin, reciting lyrics from Lennon's last album. To create the disco hit *Sadness, Part I*, Romanian-born producer Michael Creu sampled Gregorian chants, juxtaposed them with whispered verses from the Marquis de Sade, and set them to a metronomic beat. Whether such sampling is artistry "depends on how you use it," says Creu. "If you are a really creative person, you use it as an instrument, you participate. I'm sure if Richard Wagner were alive today he would have the biggest sampler in the world."

With millions of dollars in royalties at stake, sampling has become a legal quagmire. U.S. copyright law protects a composer from having his work duplicated by another musician. But what happens if the second party samples only a few seconds of a melody? Or just a fragment of drumbeat? "The latest copyright law went into effect on Jan. 1, 1978, and it was out of date pretty much the day it was passed," observes Jeffrey Light, a Beverly Hills-based entertainment lawyer. "Sampling is just another instance of the law not keeping up with technology."

Vanilla Ice ran into the problem when he was accused of lifting part of the 1981 song *Under Pressure*, written by David Bowie and Queen, for his No. 1 hit *Ice Ice Baby*. When Bowie and Queen threatened a lawsuit, the rapper eventually added them to the composer credits. Two years ago, the rap group De La Soul was slapped with a \$1.7 million suit by the '60s group the Turtles for using an uncredited bit of their 1969 song *You Showed Me*. M.C. Hammer avoided such problems by sharing credit with Rick James, who wrote *Super Freak*, before sampling the song for his platinum single, *U Can't Touch This*.

Artists and music publishers are struggling to settle disputes out of court by devising elaborate formulas to divvy up royalties between samplers and samples. "Everybody is going to go ahead doing it," predicts Light, "except now they're going to get their approvals before they make a record. If you go to somebody after you've got a hit and try to cut a deal, they're going to take you to the cleaners."

Not all unauthorized sampling ends in discord. *Tom's Diner*, an a cappella tune by Suzanne Vega, had been known only to fans who owned her 1987 album, *Solitude Standing*. Then late last year a couple of audacious remix artists who call themselves DNA sampled Vega's voice and grafted it onto a throbbing beat. Vega liked the new version so much that she asked her record company to release it. The resulting Top Five single was the surprise hit of 1990.

While that cut-and-paste approach to pop may not work for everyone, sampling may well be a permanent part of the musical landscape. And what's wrong with that? The arts have a long tradition of allusion and quotation, often with resonant effects. In pop music the only danger of sampling is that performers will use it as a crutch for the imagination, rather than a tool to help liberate it.

SOURCE



A rhythm track from a song by the rap group PUBLIC ENEMY was lifted electronically for MADONNA's heavy-breathing hit *Justify My Love*.

COPYCAT



DAVID BOWIE co-wrote *Under Pressure* with Queen. VANILLA ICE revamped it for his hit *Ice Ice Baby*. Now Bowie gets royalties too.



Even the sound of a SINGING BIRD is fair game for JESUS JONES, which uses the technique to give its songs an experimental edge.



SOURCE: DAVID BOWIE: JEFFREY LIGHT; VANILLA ICE: JEFFREY LIGHT; DAVID BOWIE: REX; JESUS JONES: RYAN BREWER/RETNA; DNA: PHOTOFEST; STOCKPHOTOGRAPHY.COM/RETNA

Show Business

Hollywood Goes to Heaven

Filmmakers are haunting theaters with a horde of afterlife movies. Is it a search for the Almighty, or just the almighty buck?

By MARTHA SMILGIS / LOS ANGELES

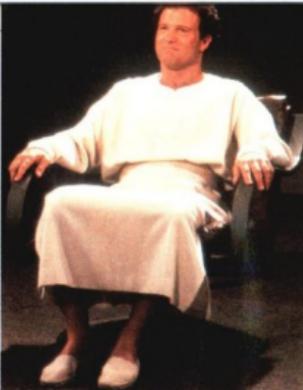
In Hollywood, a town that loves formula films about cops and buddies and fighter pilots, a hot new character has emerged. Meet a hero for the 1990s: the dead. Or nearly dead. Or just back from the dead. But don't be spooked. Hollywood believes this could be fun and meaningful at the same time. Just listen to the sales pitch for a script being peddled around the studios right now: "It's a *Ghost* kind of *Die Hard*. It's a *Home Alone* *Ghost*. Better, it's a *Ghost Alone*!"

This kind of thinking has created a jarring change in the buzz words of a town devoted to the glorification of the earthly body and the display of riches. Producers are suddenly locked in meetings pondering the intangibles: death, resurrection, salvation, reincarnation, atonement, even saintly behavior. Spellbound by the blockbuster success of last summer's *Ghost*, a sweet, metaphysical love story that reaped \$218 million in the U.S. and \$500 million globally, these obsessed producers have loaded the pipeline full of movies about robust spirits. No fewer than a dozen afterlife films will be released this year, ranging from the silly (*Bill & Ted's Bogus Journey*) to the serious (*The Rapture*). The subject has inspired TV movies as well, including *Hi Honey, I'm Dead* and *The Haunted*.

Hollywood's new formula neatly capitalizes on the search for spirituality that has captured America at the turn of the decade. The meaning of life and the approach of death are issues that seem pressing to a baby-boom generation in the throes of middle age. At the same time, teens who were raised on the values of the materialistic '80s now wonder what to replace them with.

The more creative minds in Hollywood fear that as the industry rushes to exploit the idea, the meaning will be lost, and only the formula will remain. "Some of these films are from the heart, but others are

GETTY IMAGES



DEFENDING YOUR LIFE He's an ad executive who dies, goes to Judgment City, defeats his earthly anxieties and falls in love

GETTY IMAGES



BILL & TED'S BOGUS JOURNEY They're two suburban dudes who die, go to hell and come back in a rock band

from the Xerox machine," says Larry Gordon, chief executive of Largo Entertainment. "The audience can tell the difference. People are looking for something that makes them feel good. We all want to believe that death isn't so bad."

"Death is hot," agrees Bruce Joel Rubin, writer of *Ghost*. A former hippie who studied Buddhism in India, Rubin admits the seminal idea for the movie came from *Hamlet*'s vapory father. "The film's message is: Life turns on a dime, so tell people you love them," says Rubin. Director Blake Edwards, whose current film, *Switch*, tells the story of a male chauvinist pig who dies and returns to earth as a woman, believes spirit-filled movies are popular because "the kids are searching for something. Filmmakers are merely attempting to tap it." Producer Robert Lawrence recently paid \$2 million for a proposed script called *Manhattan Ghost Story*. Says he: "In these films you can moralize without sermonizing."

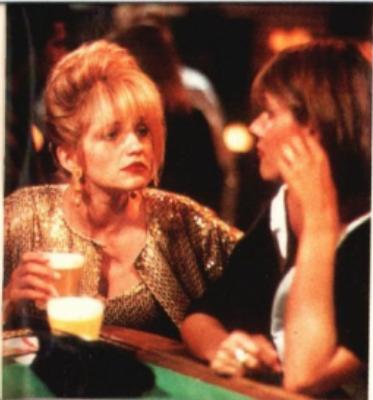
At their best, Hollywood's interpretations of the Great Beyond are highly personal. In making *Defending Your Life*, a sophisticated satire about Judgment Day, director Albert Brooks was inspired by the death of his father when the director was 11 years old. Unpersuaded that the dead return to earth, Brooks puts his main characters on a linear trajectory into the unknown. Brooks is moved by the 20 letters a week he receives from dying people uplifted by the film. "It's not a hospice cocktail," he quips, "but close."

The brush with death is actually a reincarnation of a theme that Hollywood revisits from time to time. The 1978 hit *Heaven Can Wait* was a remake of the 1941 film *Here Comes Mr. Jordan*. In the '50s, Topper and the Kerbys explored the hereafter on TV. More recently, *Field of Dreams* cloaked the metaphysical in a baseball motif. In fact, the netherworld as a dramatic device is as

old as theater. Anthony Minghella, writer and director of *Truly, Madly, Deeply*, a British variation of carpe diem, hails the technique as an inventive way to deal with loss and pain: "However dark these stories, they become an affirmation of life."

Unfortunately, many of the copycats deliver hokey, improbable scenarios with the depth of a shampoo commercial. The Grim Reaper and the fires of hell have been slickly supplanted by a blissful feel-good death in the form of reincarnation. Dying is depicted as a transitory state, at worst a move to a new neighborhood. "All these ghosts are young, attractive people," observes Scott Frank, writer of the forthcoming *Dead Again*, starring Andy Garcia. "Who wants to see old ghosts?" One notable exception will be *The Rapture*, an austere film starring Mimi Rogers as a woman who murders her daughter and faces a biblical apocalypse, complete with four horsemen in a blinding yellow light. "All for \$3 million," boasts Michael Tolkin, the film's writer and director.

To some degree, the preoccupation with the afterlife reflects the obsession of Los Angeles, the crystal-and-channeling capital of the country, where people can mention their past lives with the same seriousness as getting the car engine tuned. No doubt Shirley MacLaine's philosophical musings and Richard Gere's cassette-tape readings from the *Tibetan Book of the Dead* have permeated the collective unconscious of forty-something producers forced to face mortality through the death of their parents and the tragic toll of colleagues who have died of AIDS. "Death is the great leveler," says Josh Baran, a former Zen teacher turned publicist. "Your former surgeon, lawyer, trainer and agent can't save you. Thus, it has to be confronted. These movies are an ego trip. Hollywood wants to remain forever young, and what



SWITCH Ellen Barkin plays a former male chauvinist who dies, lands in purgatory and gets sent back as a blond sexpot to pay for his sins



THE BUTCHER'S WIFE Demi Moore is a psychic who communes with the spirit world



THE RAPTURE Mom sends her daughter into the hereafter, but the child returns to warn her mother about the coming apocalypse

better way than to extend yourself into another life?"

In another sense, the spiritual windfall is a reaction to the endless barrage of carnage films during the '80s. Audiences are sated with special effects and numbing gore. Moviegoers want to explore the big eternal questions instead, and many of these viewers have not had a traditional religious upbringing. "Conventional religion used to help you deal with death," says Lindsay Doran, producer of *Dead Again*. "Now this is gone; those comforts have been taken away."

But worldly cynics in the industry think

most of these pictures simply pay homage to the almighty buck, not Almighty God. In the recessionary '90s, when studio chiefs are ostensibly tightening their belts, these films are relatively cheap to produce. Moreover, the town's eye is fixed on the lucrative Asian market, which devours ghost stories with fervor. "The Japanese love ghosts and robots. Certain cultures believe in the afterlife more than we do," explains Fred Olen Ray, president of American Independent Productions, which made *Spirits*, a low-budget picture, starring Erik Estrada, that will be released this summer.

By all accounts the spirit binge will fade after a while, just as the recent spate of baby movies did. "The pack mentality is rampant," says Stan Chervin, a story editor at Tri-Star Pictures who is awash in "ridiculously bad scripts of past lives." In executive suites these days, screenwriters are fervently pitching stories they describe as "supernatural," or inspired by the late guru of mythology Joseph Campbell. "This vein will be mined fairly quickly," predicts director Brooks. "Only so many times can you watch a dead person help a living person with a math test." Amen! ■

God Comes to Dinner

A 56-year-old widower (Robert Loggia) comes home from a vacation with a surprise for his three grown children: a 30-year-old fiancée. Since this is TV sitcomland, the May-September romance sends his kids into a wisecracking snit. Before dinner one evening, their barbs get so harsh that the fiancée, known as TT, scurries into the hallway, casts her eyes skyward and asks for help: "Chief—Code Blue, Code Blue! I knew they'd be upset, but this is ridiculous."

And whom, pray tell, is she talking to? There's no easy way to put this. It's God. *Sunday Dinner*, a new CBS series from TV trailblazer Norman Lear (*All in the Family*, *Maude*), bills itself as the first sitcom to deal explicitly with religious faith. Lear says the series, his first in seven years, reflects a turn toward spiritual values in his own life. It also marks TV's effort to jump on Hollywood's spirituality bandwagon.

Much of *Sunday Dinner*, to be sure, goes for familiar secular laughs. Loggia and his fiancée make jokes about their age difference; the kids pester Dad with nutty problems; middle-aged friends do double takes at Dad's young bride-to-be. This



Chirpy spirituality: Dad and his new flame

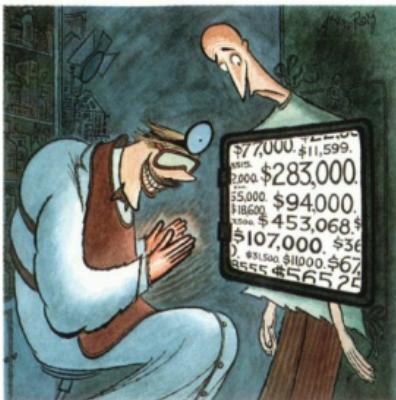
NICHOLAS TELIS/STILL FROM SUNDAY DINNER

laugh-track world, however, is interrupted by TT's private chats with the Almighty. "How does anyone wake up on a morning like this and not believe in some version of you?!" she exclaims at the start of one episode. Loggia is wary but tolerant of her chirpy spirituality; the kids are overtly skeptical. At one family dinner, TT describes her woozy mix of religion and environmentalism ("The natural world is the largest sacred community to which we all belong"). Comments one daughter: "She just turned left at Pluto."

Some conservatives have already objected to Lear's politically correct God. The Rev. Donald Wildmon, the Fundamentalist media watchdog, has attacked CBS for allowing Lear to "promote his New Age/secular humanist religion." (Idle thought: Is Wildmon now on the payroll of liberal TV producers, who use him to attract controversy—and viewers—to their shows?) It's hard to imagine many others being offended by the sappy sermonizing. *Sunday Dinner* doesn't en-

gage the issue of religious faith so much as gawk at it: belief in God has become a character quirk, like having a funny job or being a witch. Lear has made a valiant effort to break one of TV comedy's last remaining taboos. But God has always been a better straight man.

—By Richard Zoglin



Essay
Michael Kinsley

For Better Care Try Snob Appeal

Washington is full of busy, self-important people, some of them actually important, but very few who would routinely keep you waiting 45 minutes in the anteroom for a long-scheduled 15-minute appointment. If the President himself left you twiddling your thumbs outside the Oval Office for three-quarters of an hour, you probably wouldn't mind—but you probably would get an apology. Yet that kind of wait is common, without apology, when you visit a doctor's office.

There is no excuse for this. Other professions have meetings of unpredictable length and accommodate by not overbooking. Surgery and emergencies? Pshaw, the last time I squatted forever in a waiting room, it was for a dermatologist. The doctor keeps you waiting because he has power over you, like a bureaucrat in Bulgaria in the old days. Indeed, visiting the doctor's office is like a taste of socialism—the crowded waiting room with little to read but hectoring posters, the feeling of helplessness, the endless forms to fill out. Which is ironic, since the typical doctor's office is the most free-enterprise corner of the most free-enterprise medical system in the advanced world.

Doctors' waiting rooms are hardly the most serious ailment of American health care. More than 30 million citizens have no health insurance at all. Few among the rest of us are free from fear of losing our insurance or finding it insufficient. Costs are soaring—over 12% of GNP, by far the world's highest—yet our longevity and infant-mortality rates are nothing to brag about. But an hour's wait to pay \$120 for a few minutes of a doctor's time nicely illustrates how our system combines some of the worst aspects of both capitalism and socialism.

Although nobody has a kind word for socialism these days, virtually everyone is actually a socialist in principle when it comes to health care. If I were to say that every citizen is entitled to housing, supplied by the government if necessary,

you'd peg me as some kind of liberal. If I were to say that every citizen is entitled to *equally good* housing, you'd peg me as some kind of nut. Yet that is more or less what everybody thinks—quite rightly—about health care. Is there a politician around who would dare to say publicly that the poor should get worse health care than the rich?

Of course the poor *do* get worse health care than the rich. Yet Americans don't have the efficiency benefits of the free market either. And it's not just because the government now pays for more than 40% of all health care. Private insurance also makes consumers relatively indifferent to the cost and quantity of medical services they buy. And even without insurance, who is going to price-shop for a heart surgeon or be able to judge whether some expensive lab test is really necessary?

Health care is one area in which the free market cannot provide either the universal availability that decency demands or the cost control that sanity requires. That's why even the conservative Heritage Foundation—in an intriguing reform proposal billed as "market oriented"—endorses a thinly disguised tax increase on the affluent, massive new government handouts to lower-income families and stiff new regulations on everyone.

The American Medical Association has its own scheme, called Health Access America, which includes most of the familiar nostrums. It would guarantee universal care through a combination of expanding government programs, enlarging tax subsidies and requiring employers to supply insurance. The A.M.A. has come a long way from the days when it hired Ronald Reagan to campaign against Medicare as socialism. Now an editorial in the A.M.A. *Journal* bizarrely blames the absence of universal coverage on "long-standing, systematic, institutionalized racial discrimination." Yet the A.M.A.'s reform plan is strangely reticent about cost control, without which fewer people, not more, will have access to decent health care.

America's health-care system needs to become both more socialist and more capitalist. The goal is socialist: equal, universal coverage. But the techniques of capitalism can make it possible. The private-sector health-care industry will not necessarily like these techniques. Doctors, hospitals, pharmaceutical companies and medical-equipment manufacturers have all thrived under the present worst-of-both-worlds system.

One example of a best-of-both-worlds technique is the Health Maintenance Organization. At an HMO, you pay one annual fee, and the group supplies all your health-care needs. Because the provider is also the insurer, there is no incentive to run up the tab with unnecessary services. Yet the HMO must compete for customers by offering high-quality care. And customers can comparison shop for price and quality at leisure when they're healthy, not in haste when they're sick.

Thirty-five million people are now enrolled in HMOs—nearly four times as many as in 1980—despite misbegotten government policies that enrich doctors and reward patients for staying out of them. But HMOs suffer from an image problem. They are thought of as pseudosocialist bargain medicine. HMOs need to be "repositioned," as they say in the advertising game. They need a new image as supercapitalist medicine.

So here's a free idea for some medical entrepreneur. Give the HMOs snob appeal. Call the thing Executive Health Maintenance. Add a few cheap frills. Change the sales pitch. "Tired of schlepping from doctor's office to doctor's office, waiting around in squalid surroundings, filling out all those forms? Come to Executive Health Maintenance. We'll take care of everything. Not only do we have the best specialists, plus in-house lab tests and pharmacy, all in one convenient location. We have fresh coffee and croissants in the waiting room, as well as a fax machine, current issues of all the magazines and a concierge. And we promise you'll never have to wait more than 15 minutes, or the next organ transplant's on us."

It won't solve the health-care crisis, but it might help. ■

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*Comparison of 4-door 2WD base models. [†]MSRP excl. tax, license and transp. fee. Optional equipment shown at additional cost.


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